

Iam Marti, Quam Mercurio.



The Hon^{ble} and Learned Knight
S^r Walter Raleigh.
Ro. Vaughan sculp

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R E M A I N S

O F

Sir *Walter Raleigh*;

Viz.

Maxims of State.

Advice to his Son : his Sons advice to his Father.

His Sceptick.

Observations concerning the causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the *Hollander* and other Nations ; Proving that our Sea and Land Commodities inrich and strengthen other Countreys against our own.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in *England*, proved in a Dialogue between a Counsellour of State and a Justice of Peace.

His Letters to divers persons of quality.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *John Redmayne* for *Margaret Sheares* at the Bible in *Bedford-street* in *Covent-Garden*,

1668.



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The Prerogative of Parliaments in England; proved in a Dialogue between a Counsellour of State and a Iustice of Peace.

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To his Wife copied out of his own handwriting.

To his Wife after Condemnation.

To King James at his return from Guiana

His third Letter to Secretary Winwood.

His Letter to Prince Henry touching the Model of a Ship.

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Maxims



MAXIMS OF STATE.

OF GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT is of two sorts. 1. *Private* of himself. *Sobriety*. Of his Family, called *Oeconomy*. 2. *Publick* of the Common wealth, called *Policy*. A man must first govern himself, ere he be fit to govern a family; and his family, ere he be fit to bear the Government in the Common wealth.

of

— Of Policy.

Policy is an Art of Government of a Commonwealth, and some part of it according to that State, or form of Government, wherein it is settled for the publick good.

State is the frame or set order of a Commonwealth, or of the Governours that rule the same, especially of the chief and Sovereign Governour that commandeth the rest.

The State or Sovereignty consisteth in five points.

1. Making or annulling of Laws.
2. Creating and disposing of Magistrates.
3. Power over life and death.
4. Making of War, or peace.
5. Highest or last appeal.

Where these five are, either in one or in more, there is the State.

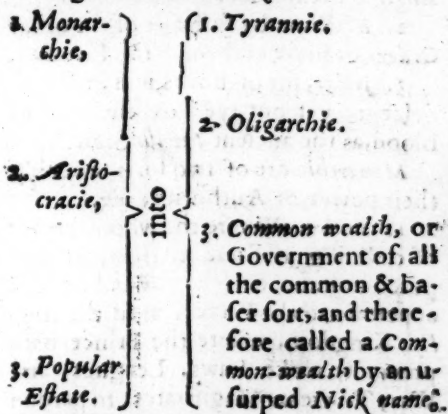
These five points of State rest either in.

1. One *Monarchy*, or Kingdom.
2. Some few chief men for virtue and wisdom, called an *Aristocracy*.
3. Many, called a *Free-State*, or *Popular State*.

These three sorts of Government have

have respect to the common good, and therefore are just and lawful *States*.

These three degenerate into three other governments, *viz.*



These all respect their own, and not the publick good; and therefore are called *Bastard Governments*.

I

Monarchie.

A *Monarchie*, or Kingdom, is the Government of a State by one Head, or Chief, tending to the common benefit of all.

Monarchie,

Monarchie, or Kingdomes, are of three sorts touching the right or possession of them; *viz.*

1. *Hereditarie*, by descent, as the *English, French, &c.*

2. *Elective*, by suffrage of the other Orders, or some of them, as the *Polonian.*

3. *Mixt*, for of both kinds, *viz.* by descent, yet not tyed to the next of blood, as the ancient *Jewish State.*

Monarchie are of two sorts touching their power, or Authority, *viz.*

1. *Intire.* Where the whole power of ordering all State matters, both in peace and war, doth by law and custom appertain to the Prince, as in the *English Kingdom*, where the Prince hath power to make Laws, Leagues, and War; To create Magistrates; to pardon life: of Appeal, &c. Though to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a suffrage in making Laws, yet ever subject to the Princes pleasure, nor Negative will.

2. *Limited or restrained*, that hath no full power in all the points or matters of State, as the Military King that hath not the Sovereignty in time of peace, as the making of Laws, &c. But in Warre only, as the *Polonian Kings.*

I I.

Aristocracy, or Senatorial State,

AN *Aristocracy* is the Government of a Common-wealth by some competent number of the better sort, preferred for wisdom and other virtues for the publick good.

Aristocracies are of three sorts, viz Where the *Senators* are chosen, for 1. *Virtue*, *Riches*, and the common good, as the *Venetian*.

2. *Virtue*, and the publick good, without respect of wealth, as sometimes the *Roman*, when some of the *Senators* were fetched from the Plough, and some from the Schools.

3. *Virtue* and wealth more respecting their private, than their publick good, which inclineth towards an *Oligarchy*, or the Government of the Richer or Nobler sort, as in *Rome* towards the end.

III.

Free State, or Popular State.

THE *Popular State* is the Government of a *State* by the choicest sort of people, tending to the publick good of all sorts, viz. with due respect of the Better, Nobler, and Richer sort.

In every *Iust State*, some part of the Government is, or ought to be imparted to the people; as in a Kingdom a voice or suffrage in making Laws; and sometimes also, in levying of Armes (if the charge be great, and the Prince forced to borrow help of his Subjects) the matter rightly may be propounded to a Parliament, that the tax may seem to have proceeded from themselves. So consultations, and some proceedings in Iudiciall matters, may in part be referred to them. The reason, least seeing themselves to be in no number, nor of reckoning, they mislike the State, or kind of Government: And where the multitude is discontented, there must needs be many Enemies to the present *State*. For which cause, Tyrants, (which

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(which allow the people, no manner of dealing in *State* matters) are forced to bereave them of their wits and weapons, and all other means whereby they may resist, or amend themselves as in *Rushland, Turkey, &c.*

IV.

Tyranny.

A *Tyranny* is the swerving, or distorting of a *Monarchy*, or the Government of one, tending not to the public good, but the private benefit of himself and his followers. As in the *Russe and Turkish Governments*, where the *State* and *Wealth* of other orders, are employed only to the upholding of the greatness of the King or Emperor. This is the worst of all the *Bad States*, because it is the perverting of the best Regiment, to wit, of a *Monarchy*, which resembleth the Sovereign Government of God himself.

V.

Oligarchy, or the Government of a few.

AN *Oligarchy* is the swerving, or the corruption of an *Aristocracy*; or

or the Government of some few, that are of the Wealthier or Nobler sort, without any respect of the publick good. The chief end of these *Governours*, is, their own greatness and enriching. And therefore their manner is, to prepare fit means to uphold their Estates. This *State* is not wholly so bad, as is the *Tyranny*, and yet worse than the *Common-wealth*, because it respecteth the good of a few.

V I.

Common-wealth.

A *Common-wealth* is the swerving or depravation of a *Free*, or *Popular State*, or the Government of the whole multitude of the base and poorer sort, without respect of the other Orders.

These two *States*, to wit, The *Oligarchy*, and *Common-wealth*, are very adverse the one to the other, and have many bickerings between them. For that the Richer or Nobler sort, suppose a right or superiority to appertain unto them in every respect, because they are superiour, but in some respects only, to wit, in Riches, Birth, Parentage, &c. On the other side, the *Common people* suppose, there ought to be an equality
in

in all other things, and some *Statemasters*; because they are equal with the Rich or Noble, touching their *Liberty*, whereas indeed neither the one nor the other are simply equal or superiour, as touching *Government* and fitness thereunto, because they are such, to wit, because they are Rich, Noble, Free, &c. But because they are *Wise, Vertuous, Valiant, &c.* and so have fit parts to *Govern a State.*

The several *States* are sometimes mixed and inter-wrought one with the other, yet ever so, as that the one hath the preheminent predomination over the other, as in the humours and complexions of the body. So in the *Roman State*, the people had their *Plebiscita*, and gave the suffrage in the election of *Magistrates*: Yet the *Senate* (as the *State* stood) for the most part swayed the *State*, and bare the chief rule. So in the *Venetian State*, the Duke seemeth to represent a *Monarch*, and the *Senate* to be his *Council*: Yet the *Duke* hath no power in *State matters*, but is like a head set on by art, that beareth no brain. And so that *State* is *Senatorial* or *Aristocratical*.

Causes

*Causes of States and Common
wealths in general.*

Causes of States, or of Common-wealths are of 3. sorts, *viz.*

1. Founding,	or settling a State where to be considered.	1. Measure.	2. Part.	and their Qualities.
2. Preserving a State.	3. Changing and altering a State.			

Founding a State.

In founding a State are to be considered 2. things: 1. Proportion. 2. Part.

Proportion is a just measure or *Modiocrity* of the State, whereby it is framed and kept in that Order, as that neither it exceed nor be defective in his kind, to wit, so that a Monarch be not too Monarchical, nor strict, or absolute, as the Russe Kings; nor Aristocratical, that is, over-mated or eclipsed by the Nobility, as the Scottish Kingdome, but ever respective to the other degrees. That *Aristocracy* be not too magnificent nor intire to it self, but

communicate with the people some commodities of *State* or *Government*, as the *Veneſians* and ſometimes the *Romans* allowed the people to elect certain Magiſtrates out of themſelves, to have a *Tribune*, to make *Plebſciſta*, &c. So a *Free State* or *Common-wealth* that it be not over popular, viz. That it depreſs not too much the richer, wiſer, nor learned ſort; but admit them to offices with a *Cantion* out of the rules and myſteries of that *State*. That they ſeek no alteration of the preſent *State*. The reaſon, becauſe the *Moderate States* in their ſeveral kinds (as all other things that obſerve the mean) are beſt framed for their continuance, becauſe they give leſs cauſe of grudge, envy, and affecting the *Wealth*, *Honour*, and *Liberty*, which they ſee in others that govern the *State*; and ſo are leſs ſubject to ſtirs, and commotions, and eaſieſt kept in their preſent *State* wherein they are ſet.

Parts.

THe parts of the *State*, or thoſe Magiſtrates that bear place or ſway in the publick *Government*.

Parts or partakers of publick *Government*, are

1 Conn-

1. *Council or Senate*, which consulteth of all matters partaking to Warre and peace, Magistrates, &c. in admitting of whom there ought to be a more special care, that they may be men expert in *Matter of Policy*, because it is their *Trade and Vocation*, as men use to chuse Pilots, and Masters of ships, such as know the art of *Navigation*, and not Husband-men, &c. And so the contrary.

2. *Magistrates and Officers*, which are to be executioners of that which is consulted, and found to be expedient for the *Common-wealth*, wherein are to be observed, the kinds of Magistrates, then they be such as fit that kind of *Government*; The time of their continuance, and the manner of their election or appointing, by whom, out of whom, and in what manner they be chosen.

3. *Judges*, To determine in *Civil*, and *Criminal matters*, where are to be observed, out of whom they are to be chosen; what kinds are necessary, and the manner of *Judgement* and *Judicial proceeding*.

In Magistrates are to be observed,

In

I. Kinds of Magistrates, as,

I. Civil.

1. Superiours which are to be such and of that kind as agree with the State, as Consuls for a year, and not perpetuall Dictators in a Senatorie State. Prætors, and Censors, that oversee manners and orders of the people.

For a Kingdom, Lieutenant of Shires, Marshalls, Masters of Horse, Admirals, &c.

Inferiours, as Conservatoours of Peace, Constables, &c.

Overseers of youth, that take care for their education, for civil and warlike exercise.

B Clarke

Clarks of the Market
that provide for the
quantity, and price of
victual.

Ediles for Building
Streets, Bounds.

Questours, or Treasurers,
to keep and disburse the public
Treasury.

Aetnaries, or Records,
which keep the public
Record.

Goalers to keep
sons and Prisoners.

2. Eccle.
siastical.

Surveyors of woods
and fields, &c.

1. As Bishops or
Stors, Elders, Wardens.

2. Time of Magistracies,
whereof some are perpetual,
some for a time, viz. for
many years, a year, half
year, according to the
necessitie of the Commonwealth,
and not perpetual; or at least
not Hereditary in the
Kingdom. Yearly in
Aristocracy, or

year.

yearly in a *Free-State*.

3. *Manner of choice*, by whom and how to be chosen, where especially they are to be chosen by *suffrage*, and (not by *Lot*,

Causes preserving a State, or Common-wealth.

In pre- serving of States 2 things requi- red.	{ 1. <i>Mysteries.</i> or <i>Sophisms.</i>	{ 1. <i>General to all</i> <i>States.</i>
		{ 2. <i>Particular for</i> <i>every several</i> <i>State.</i>
	{ 2. <i>Rules, or</i> <i>Actions.</i>	{ 1. <i>General, for</i> <i>all States.</i>
		{ 2. <i>Particular,</i> <i>for every</i> <i>State.</i>

Mysteries, or Sophisms.

M*ysteries, or Sophisms of State*, are certain secret practises, either for the avoiding of danger, or averting such effects as tend to the preservation

vation of the present *State*, as it is set on
founded.

State Mysteries are of two sorts.

1. *General* : That pertain to all
States; as first, to provide by all means
that the same degree, or part of the
Common-wealth, do not exceed both
in *Quantity* and *Quality*. In *Quantity*,
as that the number of the *Nobilitie*, or
of great persons, be not more, than the
State or *Common-wealth* can bear. In
Quality, as that none grow in wealth,
Liberty, *Honours*, &c. more than
is meet for that degree ; For as in
weights, the heavier weights bea-
down the Scale : So in *Common*
wealths, that part of degree that ex-
celleth the rest in *Quality* and *Quantity*,
overwayeth the rest after it, whereof
follow alterations, and conversions
of *State*. Secondly, to provide by all
means, that the middle sort of people
exceed both the extremes, (*viz.*) of
Nobility & *Gentry*, and the base rascal
and beggarly sort. For this maketh the
State constant and firm, when both
the *Extremes* are tyed together by a
middle sort, as it were with a band, and
for any conspiracy of the rich and beg-
garly sort together, it is not to be fear-
ed. To these two points, the *Particular*

to the end of

la

lar rules in *Sophisms* of every *Commonwealth*, are to be applied.

2. *Particular*: That serve for preservation of every *Commonwealth*, in that form of *State* wherein it is settled, as in a *Kingdom*. That the *Nobility* may be accustomed to bear the *Government* of the *Prince*, especially such as have their dwelling in remote places from the *Princes* eye, it is expedient to call them up at certain times to the *Princes Court*, under pretence of doing them honour, or being desirous to see and enjoy their presence; and to have their children, especially their eldest, to be attendant upon the *Prince*, as of special favour towards them and theirs, that so they may be trained up in duty and obedience towards the *Prince*, and be as *Hostages* for the good behaviour, and faithfull dealing of their Parents; especially, if they be of any suspected note. To that end serves the *Persian* practise, in having a Band, or Train of the *Satrapa's* children, and other *Nobles* to attend the *Court*; which was well imitated by our *Train of Henchmen*, if they were of the *Nobler* sort. Again, sometimes to borrow small sums of his Subjects, and to pay them again, that he may after borrow

greater sums and never pay : So in an *Oligarchy*, least it decline to a *Popular State*, they deceive the people with this and the like *Sophisms*, (*viz.*) They compell their own sort, to wit, the rich men, by great penalties, to frequent their Assemblies for choosing of Magistrates, for provision of Armour, warlike Exercises, making an Execution of Laws, &c. By that means seeming to bear a hard hand over the richer, but to suffer the poorer, and meaner sort to be absent, and to neglect these Assemblies under pretence, that they will not draw them from their business, and private earnings : Yet withall to cite thither some few of them, (*viz.*) so many as are easily over-matched by the richer sort, to make a shew, that they would have the people or poorer sort, partakers likewise of those matters, yet terrifying those that come to their Assemblies, with the tediousness of consultations, greatness of Fines; if they should misdo, to the end, to make them unwilling to come again, or to have to do with those *Consultations*. By which means, the richer sort do still govern the *State*, with the peoples liking, and good contentment.

Axioms.

Axioms.

Axioms or Rules of preserving the State are,

- 1. *General, that serve for all Common-wealths.*
- 2. *Particular, that serve for every several State,*

General Rules.

1. **T**HE first and principal Rule of Policy to be observed in all States, is to profess, and practise, and maintain the true worship and Religion of Almighty God, prescribed unto us in this word, which is the chief end of all Government. The Axiom, That God be obeyed simply without exception, though he command that which seemeth unreasonable, and absurd to *Humane policy*; as in the *Jews Common-wealth*: That all the men should repair yearly to one place to worship God four times, leaving none to defend their coast, though being beset with many Enemies. Nor to sow the seventh year, but to suffer the ground to rest untill without respect or fear of famine, &c.

2. To avoid the causes of *Conversion*, whereby States are overthrowne, that are set down in the Title of conversions; For that *Common-wealth* (as natural bodies) are preserved by avoiding that which hurteth the health and *State* thereof, and are so cured by contrary medicines.

3. To take heed, that no *Magistrate* be created or continued, contrary to the Laws and policy of that *State*. As that in a *Senate*, there be not created a perpetual *Dictator*; as *Cesar* in *Rome*. In a Kingdom, that there be no *Senate*, or *Convention* of equal power with the Prince in *State* matters, as in *Poland*.

4. To create such *Magistrates* as love the *State* as it is settled, and take heed of the contrary practise, as to advance Popular persons in a Kingdom, or *Aristocracy*. And secondly, to advance such as have skill to discern what doth preserve, and what hurteth or altereth the present *State*.

5. To that end to have certain Officers to pry abroad, and to observe such as do not live and behave themselves in fit sort, agreeable to the present *State*, but desire rather to be under some other form, or kind of *Government*.

6. To

6. To take heed that Magistracies be not sold for money, nor bribe in their Offices, which is especially to be observed in that *Common wealth*, which is governed by a few of the richer sort. For if the Magistrate gain nothing but his *Common Fees*, the common sort, & such as want honour, take in good part that they be not preferred: and are glad rather that themselves are suffered to intend private business. But if the Magistrate buy and sell matters, the common people are doubly grieved, both because they are debar'd of those preferments, and of that gain they see to grow by them, which is the cause that the *German Oligarchies* continue so firm, for both they suffer the poorer sort to grow into wealth, and the rich, or sort are by that means freed, and secured from being under the poor.

7. To take heed that the *State*, as it is settled and maintained, be not overstrict, nor exceed in his kind; (*viz.*) That a Kingdom be not too Monarchical, nor a *Popular State* too Popular: For which cause it is good, that the Magistrates sometimes yield of their right touching honour, and behave themselves familiarly with those that are equal unto them in other parts, though

inferiour for place and office ; And sometimes popularly with the common people , which is the cause that some *Common wealth* , though they be very simple , and unkindly set , yet continue firm, because the Magistrates behave themselves wisely , and with due respect towards the rest that are without honour ; and therefore some kind of *Moderate Popularity* is to be used in every *Common-wealth*.

8. To take heed of smal beginnings, and to meet with them even at the first, as well touching the breaking and altering of Lawes , as of other rules which concern the continuance of every several *State*. For the disease and alteration of a *Common-wealth* , doth not happen all at once , but grows by degrees , which every common wit cannot discern , but men expert in **POLICIE**.

9. To provide , that that part be ever the greater in number and power , which favours the *State* as now it stands. This is to be observed as a very Oracle in all *Common-wealths*.

10. To observe a mean in all the degrees, and to suffer no part to exceed, or decay over much. As first for pre-
fer-

ferments, to provide that they be rather small and short; than great and long; and if any be grown to overmuch greatness, to withdraw or diminish some part of his honour. Where these *Sophisms* are to be practised (*viz*) to do it by parts and degrees; to do it by occasion, or colour of law, and not all at once. And if that way serve not, to advance some other, of whose virtue and faithfulness, we are fully assured, to as high a degree, or to a greater honour, and to be the friends and followers of him that excelleth, above that which is meet. As touching wealth, to provide, that those of the middle sort (as before was said) be more in number; and if any grow high, and over-charged with wealth, to use the *Sophisms* of a Popular State, *viz*, to send him on Embassages, and Foreign Negotiations, or imploy him in some Office that hath great charges, and little honour, &c. To which end, the *Edileship* served in some Commonwealths.

11. To suppress the Factions, and Quarrels of the Nobles, and to keep others that are yet free from joyning with them in their partakings and Factions.

12. To

12. To increase or remit the Common Taxes and Contributions; according to the wealth, or want of the People and *Common-wealth*. If the people be increased in Wealth, the Taxes and Subsidies may be increased. If they be poor, and their Wealth diminish, specially by death, want of Traffick, &c. to forbear Taxes and Impositions, or to take little. Otherwise grudge and discontentment must needs follow. The *Sophisms* that serve for Impositions, are these, and other of like sort, To pretend business of great charge; as War, building of Ships, making of Havens, Castles, Fortifications, &c. for the Common defence; sometimes by Lotteries and like devices, wherein some part may be bestowed, the rest reserved for other expences; but Princely dealings needs no pretences.

13. To provide that the *Discipline* and *Training* of youth of the better sort be such as agreeth with that *Common-wealth*: As that in a Kingdome, the Sons of Noble men to be attendant at the Court, that they may be accustomed to obedience towards the Prince. In the *Senatory State*, that the sons of the *Senators* be not idly, nor over-

dantly brought up, but well instructed & trained up in *Learning, Tongues,* and *Marial Exercise*; that they may be able to bear that place in the Common wealth, which their Father held, and contrariwise, in a *Popular State*.

14. To take heed, lest their *Jealousies*, or secret practises, for the continuance and maintenance of that *State*, be not discovered; lest by that means they refuse and disappoint themselves, but wisely used, and be with great service.

Particular Rules.

Rules and Axioms, for *Hereditary*
 preserving of a King-
 dom. } *Conquered*.

*Kingdomes Hereditary, are
 preserved at home by
 the ordering.*

1. *H*imself, viz. By the tempering
 and moderation of the Princes
Power and Prerogative. For the less
 and more temperate their *Power* and
State is, the more firm and stable is
 their

their Kingdom and Government; because they seem to be farther off from a Master like, and *Tyrannical Empire*; and less unequal in condition to the next degree, to wit, the *Nobility*, and so less subject to grudge and envie,

2. *Nobility, &c.* By keeping that degree and due proportion, that neither they exceed in number more than the Realm, or State can bear; as the *Scottish Kingdom*, and sometime the *English*, when the Realm was overcharged with the number of *Dukes, Earls*, and other *Nobles*; whereby the *Authority of the Prince* was eclipsed, and the Realm troubled with their *Factions and Ambitions*. Nor that any one excel in Honour, power, or wealth, as that he resemble another King within the Kingdome; as the house of *Lancaster* within this Realm. To that end, not to load any with too much Honour or preferment, because it is hard even for the best, and worthiest men, to bear their greatness, and high Fortune temperately; as appeareth by infinite examples in all States. The *Sophisms* for preventing, or reforming this inconvenience, are to be used with great caution and wisdom. If any great

great person to be abated, not to deal with him by *calumniation* or *forged matter*, and so to cut him off without desert, especially if he be gracious among the people, after the *Machiavellian Policy*, which besides the injustice, is an occasion many times of greater danger towards the Prince. Not to withdraw their Honour all at once, which maketh a desperate *discontentment* in the party, and a commiseration in the people, and so greater love, if he be gracious for his virtue, and publick service. Not to banish him into foreign Countreys, where he may have opportunity of practising with *Foreign States*, whereof great danger may ensue; as in the example of *Coriolanus*, *Henry the fourth*, & such like. But to use these, and the like *Sophisms*. viz. To abate their greatness by degrees, as *David*, *Ioabs*, *Iustinian*, *Bellisarius*, &c. To advance some other men to as great, or greater Honour, to shadow, or over-mate the greatness of the other. To draw from him by degrees his friends, and followers by *preferments*, *rewards*, and other good and lawful means; especially, to be provided that these great men be not employed in great or powerful affairs of the

the *Common-wealth*, whereby they may have more opportunity to sway the *State*.

3. *People, viz.* So to order and behave himself, that he be loved and revered of the *People*. For that the Prince need not greatly fear home conspiracies, or foreign Invasion, if he be firmly loved of his own people. The reason; for that the Rebel can neither hope for any forces for so great enterprise, nor any refuge, being discovered and put to flight, if the multitude affect their Prince: But the common people being once offended, hath cause to fear every moving, both at home and abroad. This may be effected by the Prince, if he use means and art of getting the favour of the people, and avoid those things that breed hatred & contempt; *viz.* if he seems as a *Tutor* or a *Father* to love the people, and to protect them, if he maintain the peace of his Kingdom; For that nothing is more popular, nor more pleasing to the people, than is peace.

4. If he shew himself oftentimes graciously, yet with *State* and *Majesty* to his people, and receive complaints of his suppliants, and such like.

5. If he sit himself sometimes in open Courts, and place of Justice that he may seem to have a care of Justice among his people. If he bestow many benefits and graces upon that City, which he maketh the *seat of his Empire*; and so make it sure and faithful unto him, which is fit to be in the middle of his Kingdom, as the heart in the middle of the body, or the Sun in the middle of heaven, both to divide himself more easily into all the parts of his Dominions; and least the furthest parts at one end move, whilst the Prince is in the other. If he go in progress many times to see his Provinces, especially, those that are remote.

6. If he gratifie his *Courtiers* and *Attendants* in that sort, and by such means, as that he may seem not to pleasure them with the hurt and injury of his people, as with *Monopolies*, and such like.

7. If he commit the handling of such things as procure envy, or seem grievous to his Ministers, but reserve those things which are gratefull, and well pleasing to himself; as the *French Kings*, who for that purpose, as may seem, have erected their Courts at *Paris*.

ris, which acquitteth the Prince from grudge and envy, both with the Nobles and the people.

8. If he borrows sometimes sums of money of his people, though he have no need, and pay the same justly without *defalcation* of any part by his Exchequer, or other Officer.

9. If he avoid all such things as may breed hatred or contempt of his person, which may be done, if he shew himself not too light, inconstant, hard, cruel, effeminate, fearful, and dastardly, &c. But contrariwise Religious, Grave, just, Valiant, &c. Whereby appeareth the false doctrine of the *Machiavilian Policy*, with far the better means to keep the people in obedience, than love, and reverence of the people towards the Prince.

10. If the Prince be well furnished with Warlike provision, which is to be rumoured, and made known abroad; if it be known, that he is revered, and obeyed by his people at home.

11. If he provide so much as lieth in him, that his neighbour Kingdoms grow not overmuch in power and Dominion; which if it happens, he is to joyn speedily with other Princes, which are

are in like danger to abate that greatness, and to strengthen himself and the rest against it. An oversight of the Christian Princes towards the King of Spain.

12. If he get him intelligencers by reward, or other means, to detect or hinder the designs of that Prince, with whom he hath differences, if any thing be intended against his State. Or at least have some of his own Lodging abroad about that Princes Court, under colour of Embassage, or some other pretence; which must be men of Skill and Dexterity to serve for that turn.

13. To observe the Laws of his Countrey, and not to encounter them with his Privilege, nor to use it at all where there is a Law, for that it maketh a secret and just grudge in the peoples hearts, especially if it tender to take from them their Commodities, and to bestow them upon other of his COURTIERs and Ministers.

14. To provide especially, That that part, which favoureth the State as it standeth, be more potent then the other which favourerh it not, or desireth a change.

To

15. To make special choice of good and found men to bear the place of *Magistrates*, especially of such as assist the *Prince* of his *Counsels* and *Policies*, and not lean overmuch to his own advice, contrary to the rule of *Machiavil*, who teacheth; *That a Prince can have no good counsel, except it be in himself; his reason, because if he use the counsel of some one, he is in danger to be over wrought, and supplanted by him; and if he counsel with more, Then he shall be distracted with the differences in Opinions.* As if a Prince of great, or mean wisdom, could not take the *Judgements* of all his *Councillours* in any point of *Policy*, or else many as he himself thinketh good, and to take it either by word, or in writing, and himself then in private peruse them all, and so after good and mature deliberation, make choice of the best, without any distraction or binding himself to the direction of one. For the Proverb is true, that two eyes see more then one; and therefore the advises, and Consultations of a *Senatory State*, is compared by some to a *Feast* or *dinner*, where many contribute towards the shot, by which means they have more variety of dishes, and so better fare: and yet every man may make choice of
that

that dish that serveth him best for his health
and appetite.

10. The Prince himself is to sit
sometimes in place of publick ju-
stice, and to give an experiment of his
wisdom and equity, whereby great re-
verence and estimation is gotten; as in
the example of *Solomon*, which may
seem the reason, why our Kings of *Eng-
land* had their Kings Bench in Place
of publick justice, after the manner of
the ancient Kings that sate in the Gate;
where for better performing of this
Princely duty, some special causes may
be selected, which may thoroughly be
debated and considered upon by the
Prince in private with the help and ad-
vice of his learned Council, and so be
decided publickly, as before is said,
by the Prince himself; At least, the
Prince is to take accompt of every Mi-
nister of publick justice, that it may
be known, that he hath a care of Ju-
stice, and doing right to his people,
which makes the justices also to be
more careful in performing of their
duties.

17. To be moderate in his Taxes,
and Impositions; and when need doth
require, to use the Subjects purse, to
do it by Parliament, and with their
con-

consents, making the cause apparent unto them, and shewing his unwillingness in charging them. Finally, so to use it, that it may seem rather an offer from his Subjects, than an exaction by him.

18. To stop small beginnings; unto this end, to compound the dissensions that rise amongst the Nobles, with caution, that such as are free be not drawn into parts, whereby many times the Prince is endangered, and the whole *Common-wealth* set in a combustion; as in the example of the *Barons War*, and the late Wars of *France*, which grew from a quarrel betwixt the *Guision Faction*, and the other *Nobility*.

19. To stir up the people, if they grow secure, and negligent of *Armour*, and other provision for the *Common-wealth*, by some rumour or fear of danger at home, to make more ready when occasion requireth. But this seldome to be used, least it be supposed a false Alarm, when there is need indeed.

20. To have special care, that his children, especially, the heir apparent, have such bringing up as is meet for a King, viz. in learning, specially of
mat.

Letters pertaining to *State*, and in Martial exercise, contrary to the practice of many Princes, who suffer their children to be brought up in pleasure, and to spend their time in hunting, &c. which by reason of their defects, afterwards is a cause of mis-government and alteration of *State*.

II.

*Kingdomes new gotten, or
purchaced by force, are
preserved by these
means.*

First, if they have been Subjects before to his Ancestours, or have the same tongue, manneis, or fashions, as have his own Countrey, it is an easie matter to retain such Countreys within their obedience, in case the Princes blood of the said Countrey be wholly extinct. For men of the same quality, tongue and condition, do easily shole, and combine themselves together, so much the rather, if the people of that Country have served before, and were not accustomed in their own Liberty, wherein especially is to be observed

served that the Lawes and Customes of that purchased Countrey be not altered nor innovated, or at least it be done by little and little. So the *Britanni* and *Acquitanians* were annexed to *France*. The reason, because partly they have been accustomed to serve, and partly, for that they will easily apply about any other to be their Prince, if the *Blood Royal* be once extinguished. For the invasion of a foreign Countrey whereunto the Prince hath no right, whereof the right heir is living: It is not the part of a just Civil Prince, much less a Christian Prince to enforce such a Countrey; and therefore, the *Machiavilian* practises in this case, to make sure work by extinguishing wholly the *Blood Royal*, is lewd and impertinent: The like is to be said of murthering the Natives, or the greatest part of them, to the end he may hold the rest in sure possession. A thing not onely against *Christian Religion*, but it is inhumane injustice, cruel and barbarous.

2. The safest way is, (supposing right) that some good part of the Natives be transplanted into some other place, and our Colonies, consisting of so many as shall be thought meet

be planted there in some part of
the Province, Castles, Forts, and Havens.
It is seized upon, and more provided in fit
the Places, as the manner was of the Baby-
lonian Monarch, which Transplanted ten
thousands : And of the Romans in France,
Gaul, Tribes of the Germany, Britany, and o-
ther places. The reason :

1. For that otherwise Forces of
Horse and Foot, are to be main-
tained within the Province, which
cannot be done without great
charge.

2. For that the whole Province is
troubled and grieved with remo-
ving and supplying the Army
with victualls, carriages, &c.

3. For that Colonies are more sure
and faithfull, than the rest.

4. For the Natives that are removed
from their former Seats, they
have no means to hurt, and the
rest of the Natives being free
from the inconvenience, and
fearing that themselves may be
so served if they attempt any
thing rashly, are content to be
quiet.

5. The Turks practise in Asia, where
the chief grounds and dwellings
are possessed by the Souldiers,

C

whom

whom they call *Timariatæ*.

That the Prince have his seat at
his residence, in his new pu
chase, especially for a time, t
things be well settled; especia
ly if the *Province* be great an
large, as the *Turks* in *Greece*.
The Reasons.

1. Because the presence of the
Prince availeth much to keep things
in order, and get the good will
of his new Subjects.
2. They conceive that they have
fuge by the Princes presence,
they be oppressed by the Lieu
nants, and inferiour Gover
ours: Where it will be conven
ient for the winning the people
hearts, that some example
made of punishing of such
have committed any violence
oppression.
3. Because being present, he see
and heareth what is thought and
attempted; and so may quickly
give remedy to it, which being
absent, he cannot do, or not do
time.
3. If the Prince himself cannot
present to reside, then, to take
that the charge of Governing, or

purchase be committed to such as be
 sure men, and of other meet quality,
 that depend wholly upon the Princes
 favour, and not to Natives, or other of
 their own Subjects, that are gracious
 for their *Nobility*, or *Virtue*; especially,
 if the Province be great, and some-
 what far distant, which may soon se-
 duce the unsettled affections of those
 new subjects; As for such *Governours*,
 as depend wholly upon the Princes fa-
 vour, being not born, but created *No-
 ble*, they will not so easily suffer them-
 selves to be won from their duty, and
 in case they would revolt, yet they are
 not able to make any great strength,
 for that the people obey them but as
 instruments and Ministers, to keep
 them in subjection, and not for any ill
 will.

4. To have the children of the
 chief Noble men, and of greatest Au-
 thority, Hostages with them in safe
 keeping, the more the better: For
 that no bond is stronger, than that of
 nature, to contain the Parents and
 Allies in obedience, and they the
 best.

5. To alter the laws but by degrees
 one after another, and to make other
 that are more behooefull for the esta-
 blish.

blishing of the present Govern-
ment.

6. To keep the people quiet and peaceable, and well affected so much as may be, that they may seem by being conquered, to have gotten a Protector, rather than a Tyrant; For the *Common-People*, if they enjoy peace and be not distracted nor drawn from their business, nor exacted upon beyond measure, are easily contained under obedience; Yet notwithstanding, they are to be dis-used from the practise of Arms, and other Exercises which increase courage, and be well armed of *Armour*, that they have neither spirit, nor will to rebel.

7. If there be any faction in the Countrey, to take to him the defence of the better and stronger part, and to combine with it, as *Cesar* did in *France*.

8. To look well to the *Borders*, and confining *Provinces*, and if any there of great, or equal power to himself, to joyn league with some of the *Borderers*, though of less strength, to hinder the attempts (if any should be made) by such neighbour Prince. For it happeneth often, that a Countrey infected by one neighbour Prince, called

another, of as great, or greater power, to assist and rescue it from the other that invaderth it : So the *Romans* were called into *Greece*. by the *Ætolians*; the *Saxons*, by the *Britains*, the *Danes*, by the *Saxons*.

9. To leave their Titles and Dignities to the Natives, but the Command and Authority wholly to his own.

10. Not to put much trust, nor to practise too often the *Sophisms* of Politic, especially those that appertain to a Tyrannical State, which are soon detected by men of Judgment, and so bring discredit to the Prince, and his Policy among the wiser and better sort of his Subjects, whereof must needs follow very ill effects.

The *Sophisms* of Tyrants are rather to be known then practised, (which are for the supporting of their Tyrannical States) by wise and good Princes, and are these, and such like as follow.

Rules Politick of Tyrants.

Rules practised by Tyrants are of two sorts; viz.

1. *Barbarous* and *Professed*, which is

proper to those that have got head and have power sufficient of themselves, without others help, as in the *Turkish*, and *Russe* Government.

2. *Sophistical*, and *Dissembled*; As in some States that are reputed for good and lawfull *Monarchies*, but inclining to *Tyrannies*, proper to those which are not yet settled, nor have power sufficient of themselves; but must use the power and help of others and so are forced to be *Politick Sophisters*.

I.

Sophisms of a Barbarous and Professed Tyranny.

TO expell and banish out of his Countrey all honest means, whereby his people may attain to learning, wisdom, valour, and other virtues, that they might be fit for that estate, and servile condition. For that these two learning, and martial exercise, effects two things most dangerous to a Tyranny, viz. Wisdom and Valour. For that men of spirit and understanding can hardly endure a servile State.

To

To this end, to forbid learning of Liberal Arts, and Martial Exercise; As in the *Russe Government*: so *Iulian the Apostate* dealt with the Christians. Contrariwise, to use his people to base occupations, and Mechanicall Arts, to keep them from idleness, and to put away from them all high thoughts, and manly conceits, and to give them a liberty of drinking drunk, and of other base and lewd conditions that they may be sorted, and so made unfit for great enterprises. So the *Egyptian Kings* dealt with the *Hebrews*; so the *Russe Emperour* with his *Russe people*: and *Charles the Fifth* with the *Netherlanders*; when he purposed to enclose their priviledges, and to bring them under his absolute Government.

2. To make sure to him, and his State, his *Military* men by reward, liberty, and other means, especially his Guard; or *Prætorian Band*, That being partakers of the spoil and benefit, they may like that State, and continue firm to it; as the *Turk*, his *Ianizaries*; the *Russe*, his *Boyarrens*, &c.

3. To unarm his people of weapons, money, and all means, whereby they

may resist his power ; and to that end
to have his set and ordinary exaction
etc. Once in two, three, or four years
and sometimes yearly, as the *Turke*
Russe, who is wont to say. That his peo-
ple must be used as his flock of sheep,
Their fleece taken from them, lest
it overlade them, and grow to heavy ;
they are like to his beard, that the more
was shaven, the thicker it would grow.
And if there be any of extraordinary
wealth, to borrow of them in the mean
while, till the Tax come about, or
on some devised matter, to confiscate
their goods, as the common practice
is of the *Russe* and *Turk*.

4. To be still in Wars, to the end
his people may need a Captain ; and
that his Forces may be kept in practice,
as the *Russe* doth yearly against
the *Tartar*, *Polonian*, and *Swedes*
&c.

5. To cut off such as excell the rest
in wealth, favour, or nobility ; or be
of a pregnant, or aspiring wit, and
are fearfull to a Tyrant ; and to suffer
none to hold office, or any honour, but
only of him ; as the *Turk* his *Bashaw*
and the *Russe* his *Ruezzes*.

6. To forbid Guilds, Brotherhoods,
Feastings, and other Assemblies among

the people, that they have no means or opportunity to conspire, or confer together of publick matters, or to maintain love amongst themselves, which is very dangerous to a Tyrant, the *Russes* practise.

7. To have their Beagles, or listners in every corner, & parts of the Realm; especially, in places that are most suspect, to learn what every man saith, or thinketh; that they may prevent all attempts, and take away such as mislike their *State*.

8. To make Schism, and Division among his Subjects, viz. To set one Noble man against another, and one Rich man against another, that through Faction & disagreement among themselves, they may be weakned, and attempt nothing against him, and by this means entertaining whisperings, and complaints, he may know the secrets of both parts, and have matter against them both, when need requireth. So the *Russe* made the Faction of the *Zemsky*, and the *Oppression*.

9. To have strangers for his Guard, and to entertain *Parasites*, and other base and servile fellows, not too wise, and yet subtile, that will be ready for reward to do and execute what he

commandeth, though never so wicked and unjust. For that good men cannot flatter, and wise men cannot serve a Tyrant.

All these practises, and such like may be contracted into one or two, viz. To bereave his subjects of will and power to do him hurt, or to alter the present State. The use is caution, not Imitation.

II

Sophisms of the Sophistical or subtle Tyrant, to hold up his State.

1. **T**O make shew of a good King, observing a temper and mediocrity in his Government, and whole course of life. To which end, it is necessary, That this subtle Tyrant, be cunning Polititian, or a Machiavillian at the least, and that he be taken so to be, for that it maketh him more to be feared and regarded, and is thought thereby not unworthy for to Govern others.

2. To make shew not of severity but of gravity, by seeming reverent

and not terrible in his speech, and gesture, and habit, and other demeanour.

3. To pretend care of the Commonwealth; And to that end, to seem loath to exact Tributes, and other charges; and yet to make necessity of it, where none is: To that end to procure such War as can bring no danger toward his State, and that might easily be compounded, or some other chargeable business; and to continue it on, that he may continue his exaction & contribution so long as he list. And thereof to imploy some in his publick service, the rest to hoord up in his Treasury, which is sometimes practised even by lawful Princes; as *Edward the Fourth* in his Wars against *France*; when, having levied a great sum of money throughout his Realm, especially of the *Londoners*, he went over Seas, and returned without any thing doing.

4. Sometimes to give an account by open speech, and publick writing, of the expence of such Taxes and impositions, as he hath received of his subjects, that he may seem to be a good husband and frugal, and not a robber of the Commonwealth.

3. To

5. To that end, to bestow some cost upon publick buildings, or some other work for the Common good, especially upon the Ports, Forts, and chief Cities of his Realm, that so he may seem a Benefactour, and have a delight in the adorning of his Countrey, or doing some good for it.

6. To forbid feasting, and other meetings, which increase love, and give opportunity to confer together on publick matters, under pretence of sparing cost for better uses, To the end the Curfew Bell was first ordain'd by *William the Conquerour*, to give men warning to repair home at a certain hour.

7. To take heed that no one grow to be over-great, but rather, many equally great, that they may envy, and contend one with another; and if he resolve to weaken any of this sort, to do it warily and by degrees; If quite to wreck him, and to have his life yet to give him a lawfull tryal, after the manner of his Countrey; And he proceed so far with any of great power and estimation, as to do him contumely, or disgrace, not to suffer him to escape, because contumely and disgrace, are things contrary unto Ho-

foundur, which great spirits do most desire, and so are moved rather to a revenge for their disgrace, than to any thankfulness, or acknowledging the Princes favour for their pardon or dismissal: True in *Atheists*, but not in true *Christian Nobility*

8. To unarm his people, and store up their weapons, under pretence of keeping them safe, and having them ready when service requireth, and then to arm with them such, and so many as he shall think meet, and so commit them to such as are sure men.

9. To make a schism or division under hand among his Nobility, and betwixt the Nobility and the people, and to set one Rich man against another, that they combine not together, and that himself by hearing the griefs and complaints, may know the secrets of both parts, and so have matter against them both, when it listeth him to call them to an account.

10. To offer no man any contumely or wrong, specially about womens-matters, by attempting the chastity of their Wives or Daughters, which hath been the ruine of many Tyrants, and conversion of their States. As of Tar-
qui-

quinius, by Brutus; Appius, by Virginius; Pisistratus, by Harmodius; Alexander Medices, Duke of Florence, Alphonse of Placentia, Rodericus, King of Spain, &c.

11. To that end, to be moderate in his pleasures, or to use them closely that he be not seen; For that men sober, or watchfull, or such seem so, are not lightly subject to contempt, or conspiracies of their own.

12. To reward such as atchieve some great or commendable enterprise; or do any special action for the Common-wealth, in that manner as it may seem, they could not be better regarded, in case they lived in a Free-State.

13. All rewards and things gratefull, to come from himself, but all punishments, exactions, and things ungratefull, to come from his Officers and publick Ministers; and when he hath effected what he would by them, if he see his people discontented with all, to make them a sacrifice to pacify his subjects.

14. To pretend great care of Religion, and of serving God, (which hath been the manner of the wicked

Tyrants) for that people do less fear
any hurt from those, whom they
do think virtuous and religious, nor
attempt likely to do them hurt,
for that they think that God pro-
tects them,

15. To have a strong and sure
Guard of foreign Souldiers, and to
binde them by good turns, that they
having at least profit, may depend
upon him and the present State;
As *Caligula* the *German* Guard, where
the Nobility are many and mighty.
The like practised by lawful Kings,
as by the *French* King.

16. To procure that other great
persons be in the same fault, or
case with them, that for that
cause they be forced to defend the
TYRANT, for their own safe-
ty.

17. To take part, and to joyn
himself with the stronger part; if
the Common people and mean de-
gree be the stronger, to joyn with
them; if the Rich and Noble, to
joyn with them. For so that para
with his one strength will be ever
able to overmatch the other,

18. So to frame his manners and
whole behaviour, as that he may seem,
if

if not perfectly good, yet tolerable
evil, or somewhat good, somewhat
bad.

These Rules of Hypocritical Ty-
rants are, to be known, that
they may be avoided, and not
withall, and not drawn into imi-
tation.

Preservation of Aristocracy.

RULES to preserve a *Senatory State*
are partly taken from the common
Axioms, and partly from those that
preserve a Kingdom.

Preservation of Sophisms. an Oligarchie, by Rules.

IN Consultations and Assemblies
about publick affairs, to order the
matter, that all may have liberty
to frequent their Common Assem-
blies, and Councils; but to impose
a Fine upon the richer sort, if they
omit that duty. On the other side, to
pardon the people, if they absent
themselves, and to bear with them un-
der

derable pretence, that they may the better intend their Occupations, and not be hindred in their Trades, and Earnings.

2. In election of Magistrates, and Officers: To suffer the poorer sort to vow, and abjure the bearing of Office, under colour of sparing them, or to enjoyn some great charge, as incident to the Office, which the poor cannot bear. but to impose some great Fine upon those that be rich, if they refuse to bear Office, being Elect unto it.

3. In judicial matters: In like manner to order, that the people may be absent from publick Tryals, under pretence of following ther business. But the richer to be present, and to compell them by Fines, to frequent the Court,

4. In Warlike Exercise and Arms: That the poor be not forced to have Armour, Horse, &c. under pretence of sparing their cost, nor to be drawn from their Trades by Martial Exercises; but to compell the Richer sort to keep their proportion of Armour, Horse, &c. by excessive Fines, and to exercise themselves in Warlike matters, &c.

5. To

5. To have special care of instructing their children in liberal Arts, Poetry, and Warlike Exercise, and to preserve good order and discipline. For *Popular States* are preserved by frequency and Liberty of the people, so this Government of the Riches is preserved by discipline, and good of *Governours*.

6. To provide good store of warlike furniture, especially of *Horse* and *Armed men*, viz. *Pike*, which are proper to the Gentry; and light furniture are for a *Popular Company*.

7. To put in practice some points in a *Popular State*, viz. To lade no man with too much preferment, make yearly or half years Magistracies &c. For that the people are pleased with such things, and they are better secured by this means from the rule of one. And if any grow to too much greatness, to abate him by the *Sophistry* fit for this State.

8. To commit the Offices and Magistracies to those that are best able to bear the greatest charges for public matters, which both tendeth to the conservation of this State, and please the people, for that they reap some

in Relief and benefit by it.

9. To the same end, To contract
d to marriages among themselves; the rich
e. Forth the rich, &c.

10. In some things which concern
peo the Points, and matters of State, as
ic electing Magistrates, Making Laws,
od e. to give an equality, or sometimes
preferment to the Common people
and not to do, as in some Oligarchies
d they were wont, viz. To swear against
ke the People, to suppress and bridle
as them; but rather contrary, To mini-
op ter an Oath at their admission, That
they shall do no wrong to any of the Peo-
les and if any of the richer offer
ong to any of the Commons, to shew
ome example of severe punishment.

For other *Axioms* that preserve this
State, they are to be borrowed
for those other Rules that tend
to the preserving of a Popular,
and Tyrannical State; for the strict
kind of Oligarchy is kin to a Ty-
ranny.

Pro

Preservation of } *Sophisms.*
 of a popu- }
 lar State; } *Rules, or*

1. **I**N publick Assemblies and Consultations about matters of creating of Magistrates, publick Justice, and Exercise of Arms, to prove the contrary to the former kind of Government; to wit, an *Oligarchie*. In popular States, the Commons and richer sort are to be drawn to those Assemblies, Magistrates, Offices, Warre, Exercise, &c. by mulcts and reward, and the richer sort are to be spared, not to be forced by fine, or otherwise to frequent these Exercises.

2. To make shew of honouring and reverencing the richer men, and not swear against them, as the manner has been in some Popular State; but rather to prefer them in all other matters that concern not the State and publick Government.

3. To elect Magistrates from among the Commons by Lot, or Balloting, not to chuse any for their wealths sake.

4. To take heed, that no man bear office twice, except it be Military, where the pay & salary, &c. is to be reserved

their own hands, to be disposed of by Common Councel, &c. And to see that no man be too highly preferred.

5. That no Magistracy be perpetual but as short as may be, to wit, for a year, half a year, &c.

6. To compel Magistrates, when their time expireth, to give an account of their behaviour and government, and that publicly before the Commons.

7. To have publick Salaries and allowance of their Magistrates, Judges, &c. And yearly dividends for the common people, and such as have most need among them.

8. To make Judges of all matters out of all sorts, so they have some aptness to perform that duty.

9. To provide that publick Judgements and Trials be not frequent, and to that end to inflict great Fines and other punishments upon Pettifoggers & Dilators, as the law of requital, &c. Because for the most part the richer and nobler, and not the Commons are indicted and accused in this Commonwealth, which causeth the rich to conspire against the State; whereby many times the Popular State is turned into an Oligarchie, or some other Government.

ment. Hereto tendeth that Art of Civil Law, made against Accusers and Calumniatours: *Ad Senatusconsultum Turpilianum*, l. 1. de Calumniatoribus.

10. In such free States as are popular, and have no revenue, to provide that publick Assemblies be not after because they want salary for Pleaders and Oratours; And if they be rich, yet to be wary, that all the revenue be not divided amongst the Commons. For that this distribution of the Common revenue among the multitude, is like a purse or barrel without a bottom. But to provide, that a sufficient part of the revenue be stored up for the publick affairs.

11. If the number of the poor increase too much in this kind of State, to send some abroad out of the Cities into the next Countrey places, and to provide above all, that none do live idly, but be set to their trades. To this end, to provide that the richer men place in their Farms and Copy-holds, such decayed Citizens.

12. To be well advised what is good for this State, and not to suppose that to be fit for a popular State, that seemeth most popular; but that which is, be for the continuance thereof: And

to that end, not to lay into the *Exchequer* or *Common Treasury*, such goods as are confiscate, but to store them up as holy and consecrate things, which except it be practised, confiscations, & fines of the Common people would be frequent, and so this State would decay by weakning the people.

Conversion of States in general.

CONVERSION of a State, is the declining of the Common-wealth either to some other form of Government, or to his full and last period appointed by God.

Causes of Conversions of States are of two sorts : General and Particular.

GENERAL, (*viz.*) 1. Want of Religion, *viz.* of the true Knowledge and Worship of God prescribed in his Word ; and notable sins that proceed from thence in Prince and People, as in the examples *Saul*, *Vzziah*, the Jewish State ; the four Monarchies and all other.

2. Want

2. Want of Wisdom and good Counsel to keep the State, the Prince, Nobles, and people in good temper, and due proportion, according to their several order and degrees.

3. Want of Justice either in administration, (as ill Laws, or ill Magistrates) or in the execution, as rewards not given where they should be, or there bestowed where they should not be, or punishments not inflicted where they should be.

4. Want of power and sufficiency to maintain and defend it self, viz. Provision, as Armour, Money, Cannons, Souldiers, &c. Execution, where the means or provision is not used, or ill used.

5. Particular: To be noted and collected out of the contraries of those rules, that are prescribed for the preservation of the Common-wealth.

Particular causes of Conversion of States, are of two Sorts.

1. Foreign: By the over-greatness of invasion of some foreign Kingdome or other State of means power

power, having a part within our own, which are to be prevented by the providence of the chief, and rules of policy for the preserving of every State: This falleth out very seldome for the great difficulty to overthrow a forreign State.

Domestic } Sedition or open violence
by the stronger part.
Alteration without violence.

Sedition.

Sedition is a power of inferiours opposing it self with force of Armes against the superiour power, *Quasi ditto sedens.*

Causes of Sedition are of two sorts.

<p>(Liberty.</p> <p>I. General Riches.</p>	<p>(WHen they that are of equal quality in a Commonwealth, or do take themselves so to be are not regarded equally in all, or in any of these three. Or, when they are</p> <p>D so</p>
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so unequal in quality, or take themselves so to be, as regarded but equally, or with less respect than those that be of lesse respect in these things, or in any of them.

Honour.

i. **I**n the Chief: Covetousness or oppression, by the Magistrate or higher Power; (*viz.*) when the Magistrates, especially the Chief, encrease his substance and revenue beyond measure, either with the publick or private calamity, whereby the Governours grow to quarrel among themselves, in *Oligarchies*; or the other degrees conspire together, and make quarrels against the Chief, as in Kingdoms: The examples of *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Straw*.

2. **I**n the Chief: Injury; when great Spirits, and of great power, are greatly wronged & dishonoured, or take themselves so to be, as *Coriolanus*, *Cyrus*, *nor*, *Earl of Warwick*. In which cases the best way is to decide the wrong.

3. **P**referment, or want of preferment; wherein some have over much

and so wax proud and aspire higher: or have more or less then they deserve, as they suppose, and so in envy and disdain seek Innovation by open Faction: So *Caesar*, &c.

4. Some great necessity or calamity; So *Xerxes* after the foil of his great Army. And *Senacherib* after the loss of 185. in one night.

1. **ENvy**; when the chief exceed the mediocrity before mentioned, and so provoketh the Nobility, and other degrees, to conspire against him, as *Brutus Cassius*, &c. against *Caesar*.

2. **Fear**; viz. Of danger when one or more dispatch the Prince by secret practise or force, to prevent his own danger, as *Artabannus* did *Xerxes*.

3. **Lust or Lechery**; as *Tarquinius Superbus*, by *Brutus*; *Pisistratinda*, by *Armodius*; *Appius* by *Virginus*.

4. **Contempt**; For vile quality and base behaviour, as *Sardanapalus* by *Arbaces*, *Dionysius* the younger by *Dion*.

Other degrees.

5. *Contumely*; when some great disgrace is done to some of great Spirit, who standeth upon his honour and reputation, as Caligula by Chareas.

Other degrees.

6. *Hope of Advancement* or some great profit, as Mithridates, Anobarsanes.

Alteration without violence.

CAUSES of alteration without violence are; 1, *Excesse* of the State when by degrees the State groweth from that temper and mediocrity wherein it was, or should have been settled, and exceedeth in power, riches and absoluteness in his kind, by the ambition and covetousness of the chief, immoderate taxes, and impositions &c. applying all to his own benefit without respect of other degrees, and so in the end changeth it self into another State or form of Government, as a Kingdom into a Tyranny, an Oligarchy into an *Aristocracy*.

2. *Excesse* of some one or more in the Common-wealth; viz. When some one or more in a Common-wealth

gro

grow to an excellency or excess above the rest ; either in honour, wealth, or virtue : and so by permission and popular favour , are advanced to the Sovereignty : By which means , popular States grow into *Oligarchies* ; and *Oligarchies* and *Aristocracies* into *Monarchies*. For which cause the *Athenians* and some other free States, made their Lawes of *Ostrocismos*, to banish any for a time that should excel, though it were in virtue, to prevent the alteration of their State ; Which because it is an unjust Law, 'tis better to take heed at the beginning to prevent the means, that none should grow to that heighth and excellency, than to use so sharp and unjust a remedy.

F I N I S

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M E T H O D

*How to make use of the Book
before, in the reading
of the Story.*

DAVID being seventy
years of age, was of
Wisdom, Memory, &c.
sufficient to govern his
Kingdom, 1 Reg. Cap. 1.

*Old age is not ever unfit for pub-
lick Government.*

DAVID being of great years, and
so having a cold, dry, and impo-
tent body, married with *Abishag* a fair
maid, of the best complexion through-
the whole Realm, to revive his body
and prolong his life, 1 Reg. Cap. 1.
Vers. 3.

D 4.

Ex-

*Example of the like practise in
Charles the Fifth.*

DAVID being old and impotent of body, by the advice of his Noble and Physitians, married a young Maid called *Abishag*, to warm and preserve his old body.

Observations.

WHETHER *David* did well in marrying a Maid? and whether it be lawful for an old decayed and impotent man to marry a young woman; or on the other side, for an old, worn, and decrepit woman to marry a young and lusty man.

For the Affirmative.

ARG. The end of Marriage is Society and mutual comfort; but there may be Society and mutual comfort in a marriage betwixt an old, and young party. *Ergo* 'tis lawful.

Answ. Society and comfort is a cause and effect of marriage; but none of the
prin-

principal ends of Marriage : which are:

1. Procreation of children, and so the continuance of mankind.
2. The avoiding of Fornication.

As for comfort and society, they may be betwixt man and man, woman and woman, where no marriage is, and therefore no proper ends of marriage.

The Negative.

ARG. 1. That conjunction, which hath no respect to the right and proper ends, for which marriage was ordained by God, is no lawful marriage. But the conjunction betwixt an old impotent and young party, hath no respect to the right end, for which marriage was ordained by God. *Therefore is no lawful marriage.*

2. No contract, wherein the party contracting, bindeth himself to an impossible condition, or to do that which he cannot do, is good or lawful. But the contract of marriage by an impotent person with a young party, bindeth him to an impossible condition to do that which he cannot do, viz. to perform the duties of Marriage; *Therefore*

fore it is unlawful :

For the same cause, the Civil Law determineth a nullity in these marriages, except the woman know before the infirmity of the man, in which case she can have no wrong, being a thing done with her own knowledge and consent, because *Volenti non fit injuria*. In regem Iulian. de adulteriis leg. Si Vxor, &c.

It provideth farther, for the more certainty of the infirmity, That three years be expired before the dissolution of the marriage; because that men that have been infirm at the first, by reason of sickness or some other accident, afterwards proved to be sufficient : *De repudiis leg. in causis.*

Defence for David in marrying Abishag

1. IT was rather a Medicine, than a marriage, without any evil, or disorder'd affection.

2. It was by the perswasion of his Nobles and Physicians.

3. It was for the publick good, to prolong the life of a worthy Prince.

4. It was with the knowledge and con-

consent of the young maid, who was made acquainted with the Kings infirmity, and to what end she was married unto him; who if she did it for the common good, and for duties sake, having with all the gift of continency, she is to be commended; if for ambition, or some vain respect; it is her own, and not *David's* fault.

*Political Nobility.**Adonijah aspiring to the Kingdom.*

First, took the advantage of *David's* affection and kindness towards him, and make him secure of any ill dealing.

Secondly, of his age and infirmities, disabling his Father as unfit for Government.

Thirdly, blazed his Title, and Right to the Crown.

Fourthly, got him Chariots, Horsemen, and Foot-men, and a guard to make shew of State;

Fifthly, being a comely, and goodly Person, made a popular shew of himself, and his qualities,

Sixtly, joyned to himself in Faction *Joab*, the General of the Army, who was in displeasure for murdering of *Abner* and *Amasa*, and feared that *David* would supply *Benajah* in his place, and so was discontented. And *Abiather* the high Priest, that was likewise discontented with *David*, for the preferment of *Zadok*.

Seventhly, had meetings with them, and other his confederates under pretence of a vow, & offering at the Fountain of *Raguel*, in the confines of *Judea*.

Eightly, made a shew of Religion by Sacrificing, &c.

Ninthly, made himself familiar with the Nobles and people, and entertained them with feasting.

Tenthly, drew into his part the chief Officers of the Court, and Servants to the King, by rewards, Familiarity &c.

Eleventhly, disgraced and abased the Competitor, and such as he knew would take part with him, and concealeth his ambition, and purpose from them.

Twelfthly, Had *Jonathan* a Favourite of the Court, and near about the King to give him intelligence, if any thing were discovered, and moved

at

at the Court, whilst himself was in hand about his practise?

OBSERVATIONS,

Wayes of such as aspire to the Kingdome, and marks to discern them.

1. They winde into the Princes favour by service, officiousness, flattery, &c. to plant him in a good opinion of their loyalty and faithfulness, thereby to make him secure of their practises,

2. They take advantage of the Princes infirmities, age, impotencie, negligence, sex, &c. and work upon that by disabling the Prince, and secret detracting of his State, and Government.

3. They blaze their Title, and claim to the Crown, if they have any, with their friends and favourites.

4. They provide them in secret of extraordinary forces, and furniture for the Warrs, make much of good Souldiers, and have a pretence (if it be espied) of some other end, as for the Kings Honour, or Service, and to be in readines against Foreign Enemies, &c.

5. They

5. They make open shew of their best qualities, and comeliness of their persons (which though it be vain as a dumb shew , it is very effectual to win the liking of the popular sort , which, according to the rule of the election of Kings in the *Bees* Common wealth, think that *Forma est digna imperare*) Activitie, Nobilitie, Ancestrie, &c

6. To have their blazers abroad to set out their virtues, and to prepare their friends in every Province.

7. To draw into their part, and make sure unto them of the chief Peers, and men of best quality, such as are mightiest and most gracious with the Souldiers, and Military men, and most subtile and politick , especially such as be ambitious and discontent with the State.

8. To have meetings for conference under some pretence of some ordinary matter in some convenient place, not too near, nor too far off, but where friends may best resort and assemble unto : hem without suspicion.

9. To take up a shew and pretence of Religion more than before, and beyond the practise of their former life.

10. They use popular courtesie (which in a great person is very effectual) feasting, liberality, gaming, &c.

11. To

11. To be over liberal, and win to them by gifts, familiarity, &c. the chief Officers of the Court, and Governours of State.

12. To have some near about the Prince, to keep them in credit, and common suspicion, if any arise.

13. To disgrace such as they know to be sure and faithful to the Prince, and present State, or to the competitor, and to bring them into contempt by slander, detraction, and all means they can, and to conceal the designs from them, lest they be discovered before they be too ripe.

14. To have some spie near about the Prince, to advertise them if any inckling of suspicion arise, whilst themselves are practising,

Note the practises of Absalom, 2 Sam.

16. And of Cyrus minor in Xenophon Περὶ ἀρετῆς, cap. 1.

Political Prince.

David being a most worthy and excellent Prince for wisdom, Valour, Religion,

on, and Justice, and so highly deserving of the Commonwealth, yet grown into age, grew withall into contempt, and had many both of his Nobles, and common people, that fell from him; first with Absolom, then with Adonijah, who affected the Kingdome, and rebelled against him: For remedy whereof, he stirred up himself to publick actions, which might shew his vigour and sufficiencie to manage the affairs of his Kingdom.

1. **A**fter the Victorie against Absolom, he forced himself to forbear mourning, and shewed himself to his discontented Army, when all were like to fall from him, for his unreasonable sorrow and lamentation for his Son,

2. After

2. After the Victory, he caused a general Convention to be assembled of the whole Nation, to bring him home with honour to *Jerusalem*, which was a renewing, and re-establishing of him, *2 Sam. 19. 22.*

3. He gave an experiment of his power and authority, by deposing a person of great authority and estimation, to wit *Joab*, General Captain of the Army, and advancing *Amasa* in his place.

4. He sent kinde Messages to *Jerusalem*, and to her chief & head Towns, and Special men of *Judea*, his Contributors, putting them off their alliance with him, with these words, *That they were of his own flesh and blood, with protestation of his special love and affection towards them, to provide them with the like kindness and affection towards him.*

5. He assembled a Parliament of his whole Realm, and took occasion upon the designing of his Successour, to commend unto them the Succession of his House, and the continuance and maintenance of Gods true Worship and Religion then established, and gave a grave and publick Charge to his Successour now designed, touching the man-

78 Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, &c.

manner of his Government, and maintaining of religion, 1 *Chron.* 12. 13.

6. He shewed his Bounty and Magnificence in congesting matter for building of the Temple, as Gold, Silver, Brasse, &c. and caused it to be published and made known to the Parliament and whole Nation, 1 *Chron.* 22. 13.

7. He reviv'd the Church Government, and set it in a right order, assigning to every Church-Officer his Place and Function.

8. He suppressed the Faction of *Adonijah*, and ordained *Solomon* his Successours, 1 *King.* 1. 21. By these means he retained his Majesty and Authority in his old age, as appeareth by the effect; for that being bed-ridden, he suppressed the Faction of *Adonijah*, (which was grown mighty, and was set on foot) with his bare commandments, and signification of his pleasure: and so he died in peace.

FINIS.

SIR

WALTER RALEIGH'S
INSTRUCTIONS
TO HIS
SONNE,
AND TO
POSTERITY.

Corrected and enlarged according to
the Authours own Copy,

L O N D O N,

Printed for Margaret Sheaves, and are
to be sold at the sign of the *Blue*
Bible in Covent-Garden.

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SIR
 WALTER RALEIGH
 TO
 HIS SON.

CHAP. I.

*Vertuous persons to be made
 choice of for friends.*



Here is nothing more
 becoming any wise
 man, than to make
 choice of Friends: for
 by them thou shalt
 be judged what thou art: Let
 them therefore be wise and virtu-
 ous, and none of those that follow
 thee for gain: but make election ra-
 ther

ther of thy betters, than thy inferiours,
shunning alwayes such as are poor and
needy : For if thou givest twenty gifts,
and refuse to do the like but once, all
that thou hast done will be lost, and
such men will become thy mortal ene-
mies : Take also speciall care, that
thou never trust any friend or servant,
with any matter that may endanger
thine estate ; for so shalt thou make
thy self a bond-slave to him that thou
trustest, and leave thy self alwayes to
his mercy : And be sure of this, thou
shalt never find a friend in thy young
years, whose conditions and qualities
will please thee after thou comest to
more discretion and judgement, and
then all thou givest is lost, and all
wherein thou shalt trust such a one,
will be discovered. Such therefore as
are thy inferiours, will follow thee but
to eat thee out ; and when thou lea-
vest to feed them, they will hate thee ;
and such kind of men, if thou preserve
thy estate, will alwayes be had : And if
thy friends be of better quality than
thy self, thou mayest be sure of two
things : the first, That they will be
more carefull to keep thy counsel, be-
cause they have more to lose than thou
hast : the second, They will esteem
the

thee for thy self, and not for that which thou doest possess; but if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill (from which I hope God will bless thee) then therein trust no man; for every mans folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I perswade thee to associate thy self with thy betters, or at least with thy Peers, yet remember alwayes that thou venture not thy estate with any of those great Ones that shall attempt unlawful things, for such men labour for themselves, and not for thee, thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is meer madness: And great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a mean of their advancement, then acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I my self know it, and have tasted it in all the course of my life; when thou shalt read and observe the Stories of all Nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like: Let thy love therefore be to the best,

so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy Countrey, thy Prince, and thine own estate, before all others: for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to day, hateth to morrow; but let reason be thy School-mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

CHAP. II.

Great care to be had in the choosing of a Wife.

THe next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a Wife, and the onely danger therein, is beauty by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments, to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none, that ever resisted the Witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things, which may be thy ruine and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasie in that appetite, before all other wordly desires, leaving the

the care of honour, credit, and safety
 in respect thereof : But remember
 that though these affections do not
 last ; yet the bond of Marriage dureth
 to the end of thy life ; and therefore
 better to be born withall in a Mistress
 than in a Wife ; for when thy humour
 shall change, thou art yet free to chuse
 again (if thou give thy self that vain
 liberty.) Remember secondly, That
 if thou marry for Beauty, thou bindest
 thy self all thy life for that, which
 perchance will neither last nor please
 thee one year ; and when thou hast it,
 will be to thee of no price at all, for the
 degree dieth when it is attained, & the
 affection perisheth, when it is satisfied.
 Remember, when thou wert a sucking
 Child, that then thou didst love thy
 Nurse, and that thou wert fond of her,
 after a while thou didst love thy Dry-
 Nurse, and didst forget the other, after
 that thou didst also despise her ; so will
 be with thee in thy liking in elder
 years ; and therefore, though thou
 canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to
 to link ; and after a while thou shalt
 find an alteration in thy self, and see an-
 other far more pleasing than the first,
 second, or third Love ; yet I wish thee
 above all the rest, have a care thou
 dost

doſt not marry an uncomely Woman
for any reſpect ; for comelyneſs in
Children is riches, if nothing elſe be
left them. And if thou have a care for
thy races of horſes, and other beaſts,
value the ſhape and comelineſs of thy
Children, before alliances or riches :
have a care therefore of both together ;
or if thou have a faire Wiſe and a poor
one, if thine own eſtate be not great,
aſſure thy ſelf that Love abideth not
with want ; for ſhe is thy companion,
of plenty and honour : for I never yet
knew a poor Woman exceeding fair,
that was not made diſhoneſt by one or
other in the end. This *Bathſheba* taught
her Son *Solomon* ; *Favour is deceitfull*,
and *Beauty is vanity* : She ſaith further,
that a wiſe woman overſeeth the wayes
of her houſhold, and catcheth not the bread of
ſtupidity.

Have therefore ever more care, that
thou be beloved of thy Wiſe, rather
than thy ſelf beſotted on her ; and thou
ſhalt judge of her love by theſe two
obſervations : firſt, If thou perceive
ſhe have a care of thy eſtate, and exer-
ciſe her ſelf therein ; the other, If ſhe
ſtudie to pleaſe thee, and be ſweet un-
to thee in converſation, without thy
inſtruction ; for Love needs no teach-
ing

ing, nor precept. On the other side, not sower or stern to thy wife, for exactly engendereth no other thing than hatred: Let her have equall part of thy Estate whilest thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and many times to an enemy; for he that shall marry thy wife, will despise thee, forget thy memory, and thine, and shall possess the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared, and gotten with care and travel: Yet alway, remember that thou leave not thy wife to be a stranger unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy Estate, especially, if thou hast few Children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more then of necessity thou must, but onely during her widow-hood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor share in future pleasures with those feathers, which death hath pulled from her wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livest.

on earth whilest it lasteth. To conclude, Wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transerre them, and diminish them, either in continuance or ability, and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth in thy Son, and not in thy Wife is to be preferred. Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and he that had thee not in thy flower, will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be towards thirty, for as the younger times are un-
 able, either to chule or to govern a wife and family; so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy Children, which being left to strangers, are in effect lost, and better were it to leave them unborn, than ill bred; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend the prime and summer of thy life with Harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life; and be sure of this, that how many Mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt

purchase to thy self; for there never was any such affection, which ended not in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon, *There is a way which seemeth right to a man but the issues thereof are the wages of death*; for howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou sowest on the sands, and dost mingle the vital blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred only. Bestow therefore thy youth so, that thou mayest have comfort to remember it when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof: whilest thou art young, thou wilt think it will never have an end: but behold, the longest day hath his evening, and that thou shalt enjoy but once, that it never turns again, it therefore as the Spring time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant, and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

CHAP. III.

*Wiseſt men have been abuſed by
Flatterers.*

TAKE care thou be not made a fool by Flatterers; for even the wiſeſt men are abuſed by theſe. Know therefore, that Flatterers are the worſt kind of Traitours; for they will ſtrengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but ſo ſhadow and paint all thy vices, and follies, as thou ſhalt never, by their will, diſcern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And becauſe all men are apt to flatter themſelves, to entertain the additions of other mens praifes, is moſt perillous. Do not therefore praife thy ſelf, except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious fool, neither take delight in the praifes of other men, except thou deſerve it, and receive it from ſuch as are worthy and honeſt, and will withall warn thee of thy faults; for Flatterers have never any virtue, they are ever baſe, creeping, cowardly perſons. A Flaterer is ſaid to be a beaſt that bites ſmiling, it is ſaid by *Iſaiah* in this man-

ner, *My people, they that praise thee seduce thee, & disorder the paths of thy feet* and *David* desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, so are they obsequious and full of protestations, for as a *Wolf* resembles a *Dog*, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an *Ape*, who because he cannot defend the house like a *Dog*, labour as an *Ox*, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks, and provoke laughter: Thou mayest be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy dislike, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men that can endure it, every man for the most part delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth mankind.

CHAP. IV.

Private quarrels to be avoided.

BE carefull to avoid publick disputations at Feasts, or at Tables, among

mong cholerick or quarrellsome persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with Ruffians, for thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel, as in a battel, wherein thou mayest get honour to thy self, and safety to thy Prince and Countrey; but if thou be once engaged, carry thy self bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fights, be well advised in thy words and behaviour; for honour and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

Least not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou are bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to do wrong, so truth it self cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the divine saying, *He that keepeth his mouth, Keepeth his life.* Do therefore right to all

men where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love, and forbear to speak evil things of men, though it be true (if thou be not constrained) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thy self, thy Prince, or Countrey; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to Treason it self) than to be an Accuser. Notwithstanding I would not have thee for any respect loose thy reputation, or endure publick disgrace; for better it were not to live, than to live a Coward, if the offence proceed not from thy self; if it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to hazard thy self; for if thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the Law, if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in argument, let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou mayest learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons, for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter, what they have learned from thee, for their own. But if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honour,

hour,

nour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also is a signe of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and as Solomon saith, *The mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth*: And by thy words and discourses, men will judge thee. For as Socrates saith, *Such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds*. Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, what thou maintainest; whether touching Religion, State, or vanity; for if thou erre in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish: He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a City without walls, and less pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore, if thou observe this Rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldome erre, restrain thy choller, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good, and greatest evil that is done in the world.

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Ac-

According to Solomon, Life and death are in the power of the tongue; and as Euripides truly affirmeth, Every unbridled tongue, in the end shall find itself unfortunate; for in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that mens fortunes are oftner made by their tongues, than by their vertues, and more mens fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, ariseth from unadvised speech, and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thy self observe those things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that erre in that kind, and not to hearken to Tale-bearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busie themselves with other mens estates, that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not; for assure thy self such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper, or respected amongst worthy or wise men.

Take

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a Coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man, he can have no credit, neither in public nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in *S. Iohn* saith, *That it is a vice proper to Satan*, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in Truth, and the gain of lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the *Proverbi*, *That God hateth false lips; and he that speaketh lies shall perish.* Thus thou mayest see and find in all the Books of God, how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world, believe it, that it never did any man good (except in the extremity of saving life; for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

*Three Rules to be observed for
the preservation of a mans
Estate.*

AMongst all other things of the World, take care of thy Estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things: First, that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy Servants and Officers. The second is, that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every mans Estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thy self to be wounded for other mens faults, and scourged for other mens offenses; which is, the surety for another, for thereby millions of men have been beggered and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other mens riot, and the charge of other mens folly and prodigality; if thou smart, smart for thine own sins, and above all things be not made an Ass.

to carry the burdens of other men : If any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare, if he press the farther, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to it self, than offereth it : If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool ; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim : if for a Church-man, he hath no inheritance : if for a Lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word, to abuse thee, if for a poor man, thou must pay it thy self : if for a rich man, it need not : therefore from Suretieship, as from a man-slayer, or Enchanter, bless thy self ; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy, if thou use to pay it thy self, thou wilt be a beggar ; and believe thy Father in this, and print it in thy thoughts, that what vertue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withall, thou, and thy qualities shall be despised : Besides, poverty is oft times sent as a curse of God, it is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every

every worthy spirit; thou shalt neither help thy self nor others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy vertues, having no means to shew them, thou shalt be a burthen, and an Eye-sore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company, thou shalt be driven basely to beg, and depend on others to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts: and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds: Let no vanity therefore, or perswasion draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor, and thy honest Friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves, and thine own fame, where it is said in the Proverbs, *That he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretiship, is sure.* It is further said, *The poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thy self, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost.

be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

CHAP. VI.

what sort of Servants are fittest to be entertained.

LEt thy servants be such as thou maist command, and entertain none about thee but Yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire, will cost thee trebble as much as they that know thy fare: if thou trust any Servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for tediousness, neglect it. I my self have thereby lost more then I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and besides 'tis the way to make thy servants thieyes which else would be honest,

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Brave Rags wear soonest out of Fashion.

EXceed not in the humour of Rags and bravery; for these will soon wear out of fashion; but money in thy Purse will ever be in fashion; and no man is esteemed for gay Garments but by Fools and Women.

CHAP. VIII.

Riches not to be sought by evil means.

ON the other side, take heed that thou seek not Riches basely, nor attain them by evil means, destroy no man for his wealth, nor take any thing from the Poor; for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the Heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy men, to wrest any thing from

from the needy and labouring Soul. God will never prosper thee in ought, if thou offend therein : But use thy poor neighbours and Tenants well, pine not them and their children, to adde superfluity and needless expences to thy self. He that hath pitty on another mans sorrow, shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or another fall into it himself. Remember this Precept, *He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor, which are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labour to live, such as are old and cannot travel, such poor Widows and Fatherless children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor Tenants that travel to pay their rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or careless expences; on such have thou compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowful, defer not thy gift to the needy, for if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul; his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

CHAP. IX.

*What Inconveniencies happen to
such as delight in Wine.*

TAKE especial care that thou delight not in Wine, for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poysoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a mans stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men; hated in thy servants, in thy self and companions: for it is a bewitching and infectious vice; and remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice, than to it, for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a Drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastlinesse; for the longer it possesseth a man, the more he will delight in it, and the elder he groweth, the

the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the spirits, and destroyeth the body, as Ivie doth the old Tree; or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the Nut.

Take heed therefore that such a cureless Canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death, thou shalt onely leave a shamefull infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their Father. *Anacharsis* saith, *The first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madness*, but in youth there is not so much as one draught, permitted; for it putteth fire to fire; and wasteth the natural heat and seed of generation. And therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule, That thou never adde any artificiall heat to thy body by Wine or Spice, untill thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to Art. *Who have misfortune*, saith *Solomon*.

lomon, who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes: even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty Cups: *Plinie* saith, Wine maketh the hand quivering, the eye Watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a sinking breath in the morning, and to utter forgetfulness of all things.

Whosoever loveth Wine, shall not be trusted of any man; for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh man not onely a beast, but a mad man; and if thou love it, thy own Wife, thy Children, and thy friends will despise thee. In drink men care not what they say, what offence they give, they forget comeliness, commit disorders; and to conclude, offend all vir uous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health, and life free from pain: and yet by drunkenness, and gluttony, (which is the drunkenness of feeding) we draw on, saith *Hesiod*, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age. And *S. Augustine* describeth Drunkenness in this manner: *Ebricitas est blandus Daemon, dulce venenum, suave*

suave peccatum: quam, qui habet, seipsum non habet, quam qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipse est peccatum.

Drunkenness is a flattering Devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin: which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin.

Innocentius saith, Quid turpius ebrioso, cui factor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, promit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur: nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, & quid non aliud designat malum, facundi calices quem non fecere disertum?

What is filthier then a drunken man to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the body; which uttereth foolish things; and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face transformed: Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?

When DIOGENES saw a house to be sold, whereof the owner was given to drink, I thought at the last, quoth

quoth *Diogenes*, he would spue out
whole house; *Sciebam inquit, quod do-*
mus tandem emoveret.

CHAP. X.

*Let God be thy Protector and
Director in all thy Actions.*

NOW for the World, I know it too
well, to perswade thee to dive
into the practises thereof, rather stand
upon thine own guard against all that
tempt thee thereunto, or may practise
upon thee in thy conscience, thy repu-
tation, or thy purse; resolve that no
man is wise or safe, but he that is ho-
nest.

Serve God, let him be the Au-
thour of all thy actions, commend
all thy endeavours to him that must
either wither or prosper them, please
him with prayer least if he frown,
he confound all thy fortunes and
labours,

labours, like the drops of Rain on the
sandy ground : let my experienced
advice, and fatherly instructions, sink
deep into thy heart. So God di-
rect thee in all his ways,
and fill thy heart with
his grace.

FINIS.





The dutiful

ADVICE

OF

A LOVING SON

To his

AGED FATHER.

Sir,



Humbly beseech you, both
in respect of the honour
of God, your duty to his
Church, and the comfort
of your own soul, that
you seriously consider in what termes
you stand, and weigh your self in a
Christian ballance; taking for your
counterpoise the judgements of God:
Take heed in time that the Word

TE.

REKEL written of old against *Belshazzar*, and interpreted by *Daniel*, be not verified in you, whose exposition was, *You have been poized in the Scale, and found of too light weight.*

Remember that you are now in the waining, and the date of your pilgrimage well nigh expired, and now that it becometh you to look towards your Country, your forces languisheth, your senses impair, your body droops, and on every side, the ruinous Cottage of your faint and feeble flesh, threatneth the fall: And having so many harbingers of death to premonish you of your end, how can you but prepare for so dreadfull a stranger. The young man may dye quickly, but the old man cannot live long: the young mans life by casualty may be abridged, but the old mans by no physick can be long adjourned, and therefore if green years should sometimes think of the grave, the thoughts of old age should continually dwell in the same.

The prerogative of Infancy is innocency, of Child hood, reverence, of Man hood, maturity; and of Old age, wisdom,

F

And

And seeing then that the chief properties of wisdom, are to be untroubled of things past, careful for things present, and provident for things to come : Use now the priviledge of your natures talent, to the benefit of your own soul, and procure hereafter to be wise in well doing, and watchfull in the fore-sight of future harms. To serve the world you are now unable ; and though you were able, yet you have little cause to be willing, seeing that it never gave you but an unhappy welcome, a hurtful entertainment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate fare-well.

You have long sowed in a field of sin, which could bring nothing forth but a crop of cares, and afflictions of spirit, rewarding your labours with remorse, and affording for your gain eternal danger.

It is now more than a seasonable time to alter the course of so unprofitable husbandry, and to enter into the field of Gods Church, in which sowing the seed of repentant sorrow, and watering them with the tears of humble contrition, you may hereafter reap a more beneficial harvest, and

ther the fruits of everlasting comfort.

Remember, I pray you, that your spring is spent, your summer over past, you are now arrived at the fall of the leaf; yea, and winter colours have long since stained your hoary head.

Be not careless (saith Saint Augustine) though our loving Lord bear long with offenders; for the longer he stayes, not finding amendment, the sorer he will scourge, when he comes to judgement: And his patience in so long forbearing, is only to lend us respite to repent, and not any wise to enlarge us leisure to sin.

He that is tossed with variety of stormes, and cannot come to his destined Port, maketh not much way, but is much turmoiled: So, he that hath passed many years, and purchased little profit, hath a long being, but a short life. For, life is more to be measured by well doing, than by number of years; Seeing that most men by many dayes do but procure many deathe, and others in short space attain to the life of infinite ages. What is the body without the soul, but a corrupt carcass? And what is the soul without

God, but a Sepulchre of sin?

If God be the Way, the Life, and the Truth, he that goeth without him strayeth; and he that liveth without him, dieth; and he that is not taught by him, erreth.

Well (saith Saint Augustine) God our True and chiefest Life, from whom to revolt, is to fall; to whom to return, is to rise: and in whom to stay, is to stand sure.

God is he, from whom to depart, is to die; to whom to repair, is to revive; and in whom to dwell, is life for ever. Be not then of the number of those that begin not to live, till they be ready to die; and then after a foes desert, come to crave of God a friends entertainment.

Some there be that think to snatch Heaven in a moment, which the best can scarce attain unto in the maintenance of many years; and when they have glutted themselves with worldly delights, would jump from *Dives Dilectus* to *Lazarus Crown*, from the service of Satan, to the solace of a Saint.

But be you well assured, that God is not so penurious of friends, as to hold himself and his Kingdome sale-

able for the refuse and reversions of their lives, who have sacrificed the principal thereof to his enemies, and their own brutish lust; then onely ceasing to offend when the ability of offending is taken from them.

True it is, that a thief may be saved upon the Cross, and mercy found at the last gasp: But well (saith S. Augustine) though it be possible, yet it is scarce credible, that he in death should find favour, whose whole life deserved death; and that the repentance should be more excepted, that more for fear of hell, and love of himself, than for the love of God, and loathsomness of sin, cryeth for mercy.

Wherefore, good S.I.R., make no longer delays; but being so near the breaking up of your mortal house, take time before extremity, to pacifie Gods anger.

Though you suffer the bud to be blasted: though you permitted the fruits to be perished, and the leaves to dry up; yea, though you let the boughs to wither, and the body of your tree to grow to decay, yet (alas), keep life in the root, for fear least the whole tree become fewel for hell fire;

For surely where the tree falleth, there it shall lie, whether towards the South, or to the North, to heaven, or to hell, and such sap as it bringeth forth, such fruit shall it ever bear.

Death hath already filed from you the better part of your natural forces, and left you now to be Lees, and remissalls of your wearyish and dying dayes.

The remainder whereof, as it cannot belong, so doth it warn you speedily to ransom your former losses; for what is age, but the Calends of death? and what importeth your present weakness, but an earnest of your approaching dissolution? you are now embarked in your final voyage, and not far from the stint and period of your course.

Be not therefore unprovided of such appurtenances as are behovefull in so perplexed and perillous a journey; death it self is very fearfull, but much more terrible in respect of the judgement it summoneth us unto.

If you were now laid upon your departing bed, burthened with the heavy load of your former trespasses, and scored with the sting and price of a forfeited

sterted conscience; if you felt the cramp of death wresting your heart-strings, and ready to make the rueful divorce between body and soul: If you lay panting for breath, and swimming in a cold and pale sweat, wearied with struggling against your deadly pangs, O what would you give for an hours repentance; at what rate would you value a dayes contrition? Then worlds would be worthless in respect of a little respite; a short truce would seem more precious then the treasures of an Empire; nothing would be so much esteemed as a short time of truce, which now by dayes, and moneths, and years, is most lavishly mispent.

Oh how deeply would it wound your woful heart, when looking back into your former life, you considered many hainous and horrible offences committed, many pious works and godly deeds omitted, and neither of both repented, your service to God promised, and not performed.

Oh how inconsolable were your case, your friends being fled, your senses affrighted, your thoughts amazed, your memory decayed, and your whole mind agast, and no part able to perform

form what it should; but onely your guilty conscience pestered with sin, that would continually upbraid you with many bitter accusations.

Oh what would you think then, being stripped out of this mortal weed, and turned both out of service and house-room of this wicked world, you are forced to enter into uncouth and strange paths, and with unknown and ugly company, to be convented before a most severe Judge; carrying in your conscience your Inditement, written in a perfect Register of all your misdeeds, when you shall see him prepared to give sentence upon you, against whom you have so often transgressed, and the same to be your Umpire, whom by so many offences you have made your enemy, when not only the Devil, but even the Angels would plead against you, and your own self, in despite of your self, be your own most sharp approacher.

Oh what would you do in these dreadfull exigents, when you saw the ghastly Dragon, and huge gulph of hell, breaking out with most fearfull flames, when you heard the weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth; the
rage

rage of those hellish monsters, the hor-
rour of the place; the terrour of the
company, and the eternity of all those
torments.

Would you then think them wise
that should delay in so weighty mat-
ters, and idely play away the time al-
lotted, to prevent these intollerable ca-
lamities? Would you then count it
secure, to nurse in your own bosome so
many Serpents as sins? and to foster
in your soul so many malicious accu-
sers, as mortal and horrible offences?
Would you not think one life too lit-
tle to repent in for so many, and so
great iniquities, every one whereof
were enough to throw you into those
unspeakable and intollerable torments.

And why then (alas) do you not
at the least devote that small remnant,
and surplusage of these your latter
dayes, procuring to make an atone-
ment with God; and to free your
Soul and Conscience from that corrup-
tion, which by your fall hath crept
into it.

Those very eyes that behold, and
read this discourse, those very eares
that are attentive to hear it, and that
very understanding that considereth

and conceiveth it, shall be cited as certain witnesses of these rehearsed things. In your own body shall you experience these deadly Agonies; and in your Soul shall you feelingly find these terrible fears; yea, and your present estate is in danger of the deepest harms, if you do not the sooner recover your self into that fold and family of Gods faithful servants.

What have you gotten by being so long a customer to the World, but false ware, sutable to the shop of such a Merchant, whose traffick is toyl, whose wealth is trash, and whose gain is misery? What interest have you reaped, that might equal your detriment in grace and virtue; Or what could you find in the vail of tears, that was answerable to the favour of God, with loss whereof you were contented to buy it?

You cannot now be inveigled with the passions of youth, which maketh a partiality of things, sets no distance between counterfeit and currant; for these are now worn out of force, by tract of time are fallen into reproof, by tryal of their folly.

Oh let not the crazy cowardness of
flesh

flesh and blood, daunt the prowess of an intelligent person, who by his wisdom cannot but discern how much more cause there is, and how much more needfull it is to serve God, than this wicked world.

But if it be the ungrounded presumption of the mercy of God, and the hope of his assistance at the last plunge (which indeed is the ordinary lure of the Devil to reclaim sinners from the pursuit of Repentance) Alas, that is too palpable a collusion to mislead a sound and serviceable man, howsoever it may prevail with sick and ill-affected judgements: who would rely upon eternal affairs, upon the gliding slipperiness, and running streams of our uncertain life? who, but one of distempered wits, would offer fraud to the Decipherer of all thoughts, with whom dissemble we may to our cost, but to deceive him, is impossible.

Shall we esteem it coming to rob the time for him, and bestow it on his enemies, who keepeth tale of the least minutes, and will examine in the end how every moment hath been employed. It is a preposterous kind of policy, in any wise conceit to fight
against

against God, till our weapons be blunted, our forces consumed, our limbs impotent, and our best time spent; and then when we fall for faintness, and have fought our selves almost dead to presume on his mercy.

Oh / no, no, the wounds of his most sacred body, so often rubbed, and renewed by our sins, and every part and parcel of our bodies so divers, and sundry wayes abused, will be then as so many whet-stones and incentives, to edge and exasperate his most just revenge against us.

It is a strange piece of Art and a very exorbitant course, when the Ship is found, the Pilot well, the Marriners strong, the Gale favourable, and the Sea calm; to lie idely at the road, burning so seasonable weather; And when the Ship leaketh, the Pilot sick, the Marriners faint, the storms boysterous, and the Seas a turmoil of outrageous Surges, then to launch forth, (hoise up sail) and set out for a long voyage into a far Countrey.

Yet such is the skill of these evening Repenters, who though in the soundness of their health, and perfect use of their reason, they cannot resolve to

cut

cut the Cables, and weigh the Anchor that with-holds them from God.

Nevertheless, they feed themselves with a strong perswasion, that when they are astonied, their wits distracted, the understanding dusked, and the bodies and souls wracked, and tormented with the throbs and gripes of a mortal sickness; then forsooth they will begin to think of their weightiest matters, and become sudden Saints, when they are scarce able to behave themselves like reasonable creatures.

No, no, if neither the canon, Civil, nor the Common Law will allow that man (perished in judgement) should make any Testament of his temporal substance; how can he that is animated with inward garboils of an unsettled conscience, distrained with the wringing fits of his dying flesh, maimed in all his ability, and circled in on every side with many and strange incumbrances, be thought of due discretion to dispose of his chiefest Jewell, which is his Soul? and to dispatch the whole manage of all eternity, and of the treasures of Heaven, in so short a spurt?

No, no, they that will loyter in seed-time, and begin to sowe when others reap;

reap; that they will riot out their health, and begin to cast their accounts when they are scarce able to speak; they that will slumber out the day, and enter their journey when the light doth fail them; let them blame their own folly, if they die in debt, and be eternal beggars, and fall headlong into the lap of endless perdition.

Let such listen to S. Cyprian's lessons; *Let, saith he, the grievousness of our sore be the measure of our sorrow; let a deep wound have a deep and diligent cure; Let no mans Contrition be less than his Crime.*

FINIS.





Sir Walter Raleigh's
SCEPTICK.

The SCEPTICK doth neither affirm, neither deny any Position: but doubteth of it, and opposeth his Reasons, against that which is affirmed, or denied, to justifie his not consenting.

His first Reason ariseth, from the consideration, of the great difference among living Creatures, both in the matter and manner of their Generations, and the several Constitutions of their bodies.

Some living creatures are by copulation, and some without it: and that either by Fire, as Crickets in furnaces; or corrupt water, as Gnats; or slime, as Frogs; or dirt, as Worms; or herbs, as Canker-worms; some of alhes, as Beetles
 some

some of trees, as the Worms *Pfenas* bred in the wild Fig tree; some of living creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Wasps of Horses. By Copulation many creatures are brought forth alive, as Man; some in the Egge, as Birds; some in an unshapen piece of flesh, as Bears. These great differences cannot but cause a divers and contrary temperament, and quality in those creatures, and consequently, a great diversity in their fantasie and conceit; so that they apprehend one and the same object, yet they must do it after a divers manner: for it is not absurd to affirm, that creatures differ so much in temperature, and yet agree in conceit concerning one and the same object.

See. But this will more plainly appearing. if the instruments of Sense in the body be observed: for we shall find, that as these instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it. That very object which seemeth unto us White, unto them which have the Jaundise seemeth Pale, and Red unto those whose Eyes are blood-shot. Forasmuch then as living

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creatures have some white, some pale, some red eyes, why should not one & the same object seem to some white to some red, to some pale? If a man sub his eye, the figure of that which he be holdeth seemeth long or narrow; is it then not likely, that those creatures which have a long and slanting Pupill of the eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, &c. do convey the fashion of that which they behold under another form to the imagination, than those that have round Pupils do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glass presenteth the outward object smooother, or greater, according to the making of the glass? If it be hollow, the object seemeth smaller than it is; if the glass be crooked, then the object seemeth long and narrow. And glasses there be, which present the head of him that looketh in them, downwards, and the heels upwards. Now then, seeing the eye, which is the instrument of Sight, in some living creatures is more outward, in some more hollow, in some plain, in some greater, in some less; it is very probable, that Fishes, Men, Lions and Dogs, whose eyes so much differ, do not conceive the self same object after the same

same manner, but diversly, according to the diversity of the eye, which offereth it unto the phantasie.

Touch. The same reason holdeth in *ing.* Touching : for seemerh it not absurd to think, that those creatures which are covered with Shells, those which are covered with Scales, and which are covered with Hairs, and those which are smooth, should all be alike sensible in Touching? and every one of them conveigh the image, or quality of the same object which they touch; in the very same degree of heat or cold, of dryness or moisture, roughness or smoothness, unto the imagination.

Hear- So might it be shewed in *Hear-*
ing. ing: for how can we think that the Ear which hath a narrow passage, and the Ear which hath an open & wide passage, do receive the same sound in the same degree? or that the Ear whose inside is full of hair, doth hear in the same just measure, that the Ear doth whose inside is smooth? Since experience sheweth, that if we stop, or half stop our ears, the sound cometh not to us in the same manner and degree that it doth if our Ears be open.

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Smel- The like may be thought of
ling. Smelling : for man himself a
 bounding with Fleagm, is otherwise
 affected in smelling, then he is, if the
 parts about the head be full of blood;
 and many things afford a delightfull
 smell to some living creatures, which
 smell to other living creatures seemeth
 not to be so.

Tast- In the Tast the same reason ap-
ing. pearerh; for to a rough and dry
 tongue, that very thing seemeth bitter
 (as in an Ague) which to the moister
 tongue seemeth not to be so. Divers
 creatures then having tongues drier, or
 moister according to their severall tem-
 peratures, when they taste the same
 thing, must needs conceit it to be ac-
 cording as the instrument of their taste
 is affected, either bitter, or sweet, &c.
 For even as the hand in the striking of
 the harp though the stroke be one, yet
 causeth a sound, sometimes high, some-
 times base, according to the quality of
 the string that is stricken: Even so one
 and the same outward object is diversly
 judged of, and conceited, according to
 the severall and divers qualities of the
 instrument of Sense, which conveyeth it
 to the imagination. Oyntment is plea-
 sing

ling to Man ; but Beetles and Bees cannot abide it. Oyl to man is profitable ; but it killeth Bees and Wasps. Cicuta feedeth Quails, and Henbane Sows ; but both of these hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants he is sick, but the Bear being sick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very same thing to the red eye seem red, to another pale, and white to another : If one and the same thing ; seem not hot or cold, dry or moist, in the same degree to the severall creatures which touch it, If one and the self same sound seem more shrill to that creature which hath a narrow ear, and more base to him that hath an open ear : If the same thing, at the same time, seem to afford a pleasant and displeasing Smell to divers and severall creatures : If that seem bitter in taste to one, which to another seemeth sweet, that to one hurtfull, which to another seemeth healthfull, I may report how these things appear divers to severall creatures, and seem to produce divers effects.

But what they are in their own nature, whether red or white, bitter or sweet, healthfull or hurtfull, I cannot tell. For why should I presume to pro-

for.

fer my conceit and imagination in affirming that a thing is thus, or thus, in its own nature, because it seemeth to me to be so, before the conceit of other living creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwise in each one nature, because it appeareth otherwise to them then it doth to me ?

They are living creatures as well as I : why then should I condemn their conceit and fantasie, concerning any thing, more than they may mine ? They may be in the truth, and I in error, as well as I in truth, and they erre. If my conceit must be believed before theirs, great reason that it be proved to be truer then theirs. And this proof must be either by demonstration, or without it. Without it none will believe. Certainly, if by demonstration, then this demonstration, must seem to be true, or not seem to be true. If it seem to be true, then will it be a question, whether it be so indeed as it seemeth to be, and to alledge that for a certain proof, which is uncertain and questionable, seemeth absurd.

If it be said, that the imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward object, than the imagination of other
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living creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which is already said, this is easily refuted by comparing of Man with other creatures.

It is confessed, the Dog excelleth Man in smell, and in hearing: and whereas there is said to be a two-fold discourse, one of the mind, another of the tongue, and that of the mind is said to be exercised in chusing that which is convenient, and refusing that which is hurtfull in knowledge, justice, and thankfulness: This creature chuseth his food, refuseth the whip, fawneth on his Master, defendeth his house, revengeth himself of those strangers that hurt him. And *Homer* mentioneth *Argus* the Dog of *Ulysses*, who knew his Master, having been from home so many years, that at his return all the people of his house had forgot him. This creature, saith *Chrysippus*, is not void of Logick: for when in following any beast, he cometh to three severall wayes, he smelleth to the one, and then to the second; and if he find that the beast which he Pursueth be not fled one of these two wayes, he presently without smelling any further to it, taketh the third way: which

which, saith the same Philosopher, is as if he reasoned thus, the Beast must be gone either this, or this, or the other way; but neither this nor this; *Ergo*, the third: and so away he runneth.

If we consider his skill in Physick, it is sufficient to help himself: if he be wounded with a dart, he useth the help of his Teeth to take it out, of his Tongue to cleanse the wound from corruption: he seemeth to be well acquainted with the Precept of *Hypocrites*, who saith, that the Rest of the Foot is the Physick of the Foot, and therefore if his Foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may rest: if he be sick, he giveth himself a Vomit by eating of Grass, and recovereth himself. The Dog then we see is plentifully furnished with inward discourse.

Now outward speech is not needfull to make a creature reasonable, else a dumb Man were an unreasonable Creature.

And do not Philosophers themselves reject this as an enemy to knowledge? and therefore they are *silent* when they are instructed; and yet even as Barbarous and strange people of speech, but we understand it not, neither do we
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perceive any great difference in their words: but a difference there seemeth to be, and they do express their thoughts and meanings one to another by those words. Even so those creatures, which are commonly called unreasonable, do seem to parlie one with another; and by their speech do understand one the other. Do not Birds by one kind of speech call their young ones, and by another cause them to hide themselves? Do they not by their several voices express their several passions of joy, of grief, of fear in such manner, that their fellows understand them? Do they not by their voice foreshew things to come? But we will return to that creature we first did instance in. The Dog delivereth one kind of voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry. These creatures then are not void of outward speech.

If then these creatures excell Man in sense, and are equal to him in inward and outward discourse, why should not their conceits and imaginations convey the outward object in as true a manner as ours? and if so, then seeing
their

their imaginations are divers, and they
conceit it diversly according to their
divers temperaments. I may tell what
the outward object seemeth to me, but
what it seemeth to other creatures, or
whether it be indeed that which it
seemeth to me, or any other of them,
I know not.

But be it granted, that the judge-
ment of man in this case, is to be pre-
ferred before the judgement of Beastes;
yet in Men there is great difference,
both in respect of the outward shape,
and also of the temperature of their bo-
dies: For the body of the *Scythian* dif-
fereth in shape from the body of the
Indian: the reason of it ariseth (say
the Dogmaticks) from a predomnan-
cy of humours in the one more than in
the other; and as severall humours are
predominant, so are the fantasies and
conceits severally framed and effected:
So that our Countrey-men delight in
one thing, the *Indian* not in that, but
in another which we regard not. This
would not be, if their conceits and ours
were both alike, for then we should like
that which they do, and they should dis-
like that which we would dislike. It is
evident also, that men differ very much

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in the temperature of their bodies, why should some more easily digest Beef than Shel-Fish? and others be mad for the time, if they drink wine? There was an old woman about *Arbeus*, who drank three drams of *Cicuta* (every dram weighing sixty Barley corns, and eight drams to an ounce) without hurt. *Lyfis*, without hurt, took four drams of *Poppy*, and *Demophon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold when he stood in the Sun, or in a hot Bath, but very hot when he stood in the shadow. *Athenagoras* felt no pain if a Scorpion stung him; and the *Phli* (a people in *Lybia*, whose bodies are venom to Serpents) if they be stung by Serpents, or Asps, receive no hurt at all.

The *Æthiopians*, which inhabit the river *Hydaspis*, do eat Serpents and Scorpions without danger. *Lothericus* Chirurgion, at the smell of a Sturgeon, would be for a time mad. *Andrus* of *Argos*, was so little thirsty, that without want of drink, he travelled through the hot and dry Countrey of *Tybia*. *Tyberius Caesar* would see very well in the dark. *Aristotle* mentions of *Thracius*, who said, that the imag

dies, of a Man went alwayes before him.

If then it be so, that there be such differences in Men, this must be by reason of the divers temperatures they have, and divers dispositions of their conceit and imagination; for, if one hate, and another love the very same thing, it must be that their fantasies differ, else all would love it, or all would hate it. These Men then, may tell how these things seem to them good or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to mens opinions, concerning one and the same matter, thinking thereby to come to the knowledge of it, we shall find this to be impossible; for, either we must believe what all men say of it, or what some men onely say of it. To believe what all men say of one & the same thing, is not possible; for then we shall believe Contrarieties; for some men say, that this very thing is pleasant, which others say is displeasing. If it be said, we must believe onely some men, then let it be shewed who those some men are; for the *Platonists* will believe *Plato*, but the *Epicures* *Epicurus*, the *Pythagorians* *Pythagoras*, and other Philosophers the

masters of their own Sects : so that it is doubtful, to which of all these we shall give credit. If it be said, that we must credit the greatest number ; this seemeth childish : for there may be amongst other Nations a greater number which deny that very point, which the greatest number with us do affirm : so that hercof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This argument seemeth to be further confirmed, if the differences of the Senses of *Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Touching*, and *Tasting* be considered : for that the Senses differ, it seemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which the art of Slanting is used) appear to the Eyes as if the parts of them were some higher, and some lower than the other, but to the Touch they seem not to be so.

Honey seemeth to the Tongue sweet but unpleasant to the Eye : so Oynement doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taste. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it hurterh the Lungs. We may tell then, how these things seem to our several senses, but what they are in their own nature we cannot tell : for why should not a man

etc.

that it credit any one of his senses as well as these w the other.

Every object seemeth to be presented diversly unto the several instruments of Sense. An Apple to the Touch seemeth smooth, sweet to the Smell, and to the Eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of these qualities only, or more then these qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the same blast of wind, varied according to the capacity of the several Pipes which receive it: even so the quality of the Apple may be but one, and this one quality may be varied, and seem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch smooth and sweet to the Smell, by reason of the divers instruments of the Sense; which apprehend this one quality diversly.

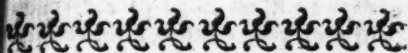
It may be also, that an Apple hath many qualities besides; but we are not able to conceive them all, because we want fit means and instruments to apprehend them. For suppose that some Man is born blind, and deaf, and yet can touch, smell, and taste; this man will not think that there is any thing which may be seen or heard, because he wanteth the Senses of hearing and

seeing, he will onely think there are those qualities in the object, which by reason of his three Senses he conceiveth: Even so the Apple may have many more qualities; but we cannot come to know them, because we want fit instruments for that purpose.

If it be replied, that Nature hath ordained as many instruments of Sense, as there are sensible objects, I demand, What Nature? for there is a confused controversie about the very Essence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one thing, others another, few agreeing; so that what the quality of an Apple is, or whether it hath one quality or many, I know not.

Let a man also consider, how many things that are separated, and by themselves appear to differ from that which they seem to be; when they are in a mass or lump; the scrapings of the goats horn seems white, but in the horn they seem black, but in the lump white the stone *Tenarus*, being polished, seemeth white, but unpolished and rough, it seemeth yellow. Sands being separated appear rough to the Touch, but a great heap, soft. I may then report, how these things appear, but whether they are so indeed; I know not,

Sir



Sir Walter Raleigh's

OBSERVATIONS

*Concerning the Causes of the
Magnificency and Opul-
lency of Cities.*



That the onely way to civi-
lize and reform the savage
and barbarous lives, and
corrupt manners of such
people, is.

1. To be dealt withall by gentle and
loving conversation among them, to
attain to the knowledge of their Lan-
guage, and of the multitude of their
special discommodities and inconveni-
encies in their manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired
reputation amongst them, upon a so-
lid and true foundation of Piety, Ju-
stice, and Wisdom, conjoynd with
fortitude and power.

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3. The third is, discreetly to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their own estate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion* were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, &c.

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation, of the certainty, truth, and sincerity of these, together with the felicity of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto actions, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advice, for the future profit and felicity of themselves and their posterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perswaded to withdraw and unite themselves into several Colonies; that by it an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civility, for the better succour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates and Ministers of the King, or other

her superiour power, under whom this Reformation is sought. Which course the Stoick tells, that *Thesens* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the people into one City, that before lived dispersedly in many Villages. The like is put in practise at this day by the *Portugals* and *Iesuites*, that they may with less difficulty and hinderance reform the rough behaviour, and savage life of the people of *Brazile*, who dwell scattered and dispersed in caves and cottages made of boughs and leaves of the Palm trees.

Alexander the great built more than seventy Cities: *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Apamea*, to the honour of his wife; and five called *Laodicea*, in memory of his mother; and five called *Selencia*, to the honour of himself.

*Safety for Defence of the People
and their goods, in and near
the Town.*

*Situa-
tion* **I**N the Situation of Cities,
there is to be required a place
for safe- of Safety, by some natural
ty and strength, commodiousness for
Plenty. Navigation, and Conduct, for
the attaining of plenty of all good
things, for the sustenance and comfort
of mans life, and to draw trade and
entercourse of other Nations; as if
the same be situate in such sort, as
many people have need to repair
thither for some natural commodity
or other of the Country, which by
traffick and transportation of com-
modities, (whereof they have more
plenty then will supply their own
necessity) or for receiving of things
whereof they have scarcity. And
much better will it be, if the place
afford some notable commodity of it
self, from whence other Nations may
more readily, and at better rate at-
tain the same: likewise, and withall,
be.

be so fertil, pleasant, and healthfull of it self, that it may afford plenty of good things, for the delight and comfort of the Inhabitants.

Multi. In former times, great Nations made of Kings and Potentates have endured sharp conflicts, and held it high Policie, by all means to increase their Cities, with multitudes of inhabitants. And to this end the Romans ever furnished themselves with strength and power, to make their neighbour people, of necessity, willing to draw themselves to Rome to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean strength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing alwayes the vanquished Captives to Rome, for the augmentation of that Citie.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the *Sabines*, condescended to Peace, upon condition that *Tatius* their King should come with all their people to dwell at Rome: *Tatius* did accept, and made choice of the *Capitol*, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his Seat and Pallace.

The same course held *Tamberlane*
The

the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Samarcanda*, still bringerth unto it the richest and wealthiest Citizens he had subdued.

And the *Ottomans*, to make the City *Constantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thousand Families, especially Artificers out of the subdued Cities, as *Mahomet* the Great from *Trebizond*, *Selim* the First from *Cairo*, and *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

Authority and necessity, without the consideration of the conveniencies, and commodiousness of Situation above mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a City; thereby only it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in Magnificency or Opulency: for if profit, Height, and Delight go not companions therewith, no Authority or necessity can retain much People or Wealth.

But if the place whereupon a City is to be founded, be commodious for the aforesaid conveniencies, which help greatly for the felicity of this life; then, no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the same, whereby it may by the help of Arts and Industry, in

time

time, become magnificent & glorious.

Unto the good estate, greatness, and glory of a City, these things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much importance. *viz.*

Reli- Religion, which is, of such force and might, to amplify Cities, and Dominions, and of such attractive virtue to replenish the same with people and wealth, and to hold them in due obedience, as none can be more; for without adoration of some Deity, no Common wealth can subsist.

Witness *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople*, and all other Cities that have been famous for the profession of Religion, or Divine Worship. And no marvel, for there is not any thing in this world of more efficacy and force to allure and draw to it the hearts of Men, than God, which is the *summum bonum*. He is carefully desired, & continually sought for of all creatures; for all regard Him as their last end and refuge.

Light things apply themselves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to Revolution, the Herbs to Flowers, Trees to bear Fruit, Beasts to present their kind, and Man in seeking his tranquility, and everlasting glo-

But forasmuch as God is of so high a nature as the sense and understanding of Man cannot conceive it, every man directly turns himself to that place where he leaves some print of his power, or declares some sign of his assistance. And to such persons whom he seemeth more especially to have revealed himself.

Acade. Academies, & Schools of Learning. ing with convenient immunities and priviledges for Scholars, and means for Recreation for Delight, are of great importance to enlarge and enrich a city: forasmuch as men long for honour and profit, and of Arts and liberal Sciences some bring certain wealth to men, and some promotions and preferments to honourable Functions: for by this means, not only young men, & those that are desirous of Learning & Virtue in the same Commonwealth, will be retained in their own Countreys but also strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if occasion be given to Scholars and Students, to rise to degrees of Honour and Preferment by their learned Exercises, and that by the policy of the same City, good Wits.

Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: that the same Academies and Schools be stored with plenty of Doctors and learned men, of great fame and reputation.

Courts Courts of Iustice, with due execution of the same in a City, do much enable, enlarge, & enrich it; for it fasteneth a great liking in a City to vertuous men, and such as be wealthy, that therein they may be free, and in safety from the violence of the oppressions of covetous and wicked men: and there will be rather resort thither to inhabit, or traffick there, as occasions may minister unto them. And many others that have cause of suit will repair thither, whereas they may be sure to find Iudgement and Iustice duely executed, whereby the City must needs be enlarged and enriched: for our lives, and all that ever we have are in the hands of Iustice: so that if Iustice be not administred amongst men, in vain is there any society and commerce, or any other thing can be profitable or safe; so much is love and charity failed, and iniquity increased upon the face of the earth.

The

Arti. The excellency and multitude
ficers. likewise of Artificers exercising
their manual Arts and Trades, do
marvellously encrease and enrich a
State, whereof some are necessary,
some commodious for a civil life, o-
ther some are of pomp and orna-
ment, and other some of delicacy
and curiosity, whereof doth follow con-
course of people that labour and work,
and current money which doth enrich
and supply Materials for Labourers,
and work-men, buying and selling,
transportation from place to place,
which doth employ and encrease the
artificial and cunning parts of the wit
of Man; and this art and exquisite-
ness of workmanship and skill is so
powerful herein, that it far excells the
simple commodities and materials that
Nature produceth; and is alone suffi-
cient of it self to make a City or State
both magnificent and glorious: and
the daily experience we have in these
our dayes, and in former times,
doth manifestly approve the same, and
make evident without all contradi-
ction.

Some natural benefits that a City
also may have for the excellency of Art,

or workmanship of some special commodities above any other place, either through the quality of the Water, or other matter whatsoever, or some hidden mystery of the inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great help for the enlargement and enriching of a City.

The command of a countrey that affordeth some proper commodity, is of it self sufficient mightily to bring a City to great wealth, and to advance it to great power, and draweth thereby dependency and concourse, much advantageous also as well for the publick weal, as the private person.

A City also may be Lord of much Merchandize and Traffick, by means of the commodious situation to many Nations, to whom it serveth and hath relation to, as Ware-houses, Roomah and Store houses, by reason whereof, the Nations adjoyning do use to resort thereunto, to make their provisions of such things. And this consisteth in the largeness of the Ports, the fitness of the Gulphs and Creeks of the Seas, in the Navigable Rivers and Channells, and the plain and safe wayes that leadeth to the City,

or

or that come, or turn by or near it. *Privi-* Priviledge and freedom from
ledge. Customes and Exactions, doth
greatly increase the Trade, and draw
inhabitants to a City, whereby the same
may become both rich and powerful;
whereof the Marts and Fairs, and Mar-
kets bear good witness, which are fre-
quented with great concourse of peo-
ple, Trades-men, and Merchants, for
no other respect, but that they are
there free and frank from Customes
and Exactions. And the Cities in
Flanders are lively testimonies hereof,
where the Customes are very small.

By reason whereof, all such as have
erected new Cities in times past to draw
concourse of people unto it, have
granted large immunities, and privi-
ledges at the least, to the first inhabi-
tants thereof.

The like have they done that have
restored Cities emptied with Plague,
consumed with Wars, or afflicted with
Famine, or some other scourge of God.
In respect whereof, freedom of Cities
hath been often granted to such as
would with their Families inhabit
there, or would bring Corn and other
necess-

necessaries for provision of victual.

The Romans, to increase their Cities, made the Towns that well deserved of them (which they after called *Municipia*) to be partakers of their franchises and priviledges.

The first devise

of Rome to al-

lure strangers,

was a Sanctuary.

The first means

the Romans used to

allure people to

make their habitati-

ons rather in Rome

than elsewhere, was the opening the Sanctuary, & giving liberty & freedom to all that would come unto them. In respect thereof, there flocked thither, with their goods, numbers of people that were either racked with exactions, thrust out of their habitations, or unsafe, or unsure for their lives in their own Countries for Religion sake.

The very same reason in a manner hath increased so much the City of *Geneva*: forasmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all comers out of *France* and *Italy*; that have either forsaken, or been exiled their Countries for Religions sake.

Tri-

Likewise, triumphs, goodly

umphs. buildings, battels on the water.

Sights of sword players, hunting of wild

beasts,

beasts, publick shows and sights, plays solemnized with great pomp and preparation, and many other such things to draw the curious people to a City inspeakably, which leaves behind them much treasure, and for such cause will rather settle themselves to inhabit there, than in other places. This was also the devise of *Rome* in her infancy to enlarge her self.

*The Causes that concerns
the Magnificence of
a City.*

TO confirm a City in her greatness, *Iustice, Peace, and Plenty*, are the undoubted means: for *Iustice* affureth every man his own: *Peace* causeth all Arts and Negotiation whatsoever to flourish: and *Plenty* of food and victuall, that sustaineth the life of Man with ease and much contentment. To conclude, all those things that cause the Greatness of a City, are also fit to conserve the same,



Sir Walter Raleigh's

Seat of

GOVERNMENT.

*That the Seat of Government is upheld
by the two great pillars thereof, viz.
Civil Justice and Martial Policie,
which are framed out of Husbandry,
Merchandise, and Gentry of this
Kingdom.*

They say, that the goodliest CEDARS which grow on the high mountains of *Libanus*, thrust their roots between the clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As Nature hath instructed those Kings of Trees, so hath Reason taught the Kings of Men, to root themselves in the hardy Hearts of their faithfull Subjects. And as those
Kings

kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the first would soon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; so would the other easily tytter, were they not fastened on their heads, with the strong chains of Civil Justice and Martial Discipline.

1. For the administration of the first, even God himself hath given direction, *Judges & Officers shall thou make, which shall judge the people with righteous Judgements.*

2. The second is grounded on the first Laws of the World and Nature, that force is to be repelled by Force. Yea Moses in the 20. of *Exodus*, and elsewhere, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuse in both, so have we heard of the decline and ruine of many Kingdoms and States long before our dayes: for that Policie hath never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short season) where the counterfeit hath been sold for the natural, and the outward shew and formality for the substance. Of the Emperour Charles the Fourth, the

the writers of that age witness, that he used but the name of *Iustice* and good order, being more learned in the Law, than in doing right, and that he had by farre more knowledge than conscience. Certainly the unjust Magistrate that fancieth to himself a solid and untransparable body of Gold, every ordinary wit can vitrifie, and make transparent peices, and discern their corruptions; howsoever, because not daring, they cover their knowledge, but in the mean while it is also true, That constrained dissimulation, either in the proud heart, or in the oppressed, either in publick estates, or in private persons, whether the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leisure of her lurking, but sharpen her teeth, the voluntary being no less base than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England* and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland* and their people, between the *Sicilians* and the *French*, between the *Dolphin* and *Iohn* of *Burgoign*, between *Charles* the Ninth and the *French* Protestants, and between *Henry* the Third, his Successor, and the Lords of *Guise*, hereof in place of more particulars,

lars, the whole world may serve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geography, to delineate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is easie enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintained it self in lasting happiness; it hath ever acquired more honour by perswading, than by beating: for as the bonds of Reason and Love are immortal, so do all other chains or cords both rusty and rot noble parts of their own royal and politick Bodies.

Hus- But we will forbear for a while *band* to stretch this first string of *Ci-* *men.* vil *Injustice*: for in respect of the first sort of men, *to wit*, of those that live by their own labour, they have never been displeased where they have been suffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels; *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine is all wherein they seek their certainty and protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit trees of the Land, which God in *Deuteronomie* commanded to be spared, they gather honey, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the ground with great labour, giving the best of their grain to the easefull and idle,

For

Mer. For the second sort, which are the
 Merchants, as the first feed the
 Kingdome, so do these enrich it, yea,
 their trades, especially those which are
 forcible, are not the least part of our
 Martial Policy, as hereafter proved; &
 to do them right, they have in all ages
 & times assisted the Kings of this Land,
 not onely with great sums of money,
 but with great Fleets of Ships in all their
 enterprises beyond the seas. The second
 have seldome or never offended their
 Princes, to enjoy their trades at home
 upon tolerable conditions, hath ever
 contented them for the injuries recei-
 ved from other Nations; give them but
 the Commission of Reprisal, they will
 either right themselves, or sit down with
 their one loss without complaint.

Gen. 3. The third sort, which are the
 Gentry of England, these being nei-
 ther seated in the lowest grounds, and
 thereby subject to the biting of every
 beast, nor in the highest Mountains, and
 thereby in danger to be torn with tem-
 pests; but the Vallies between both have
 their parts in the inferiour Justice, and
 being spread over all, are the Garrisons
 of good order throughout the Realm.

F I N I S.

H

The first of these is the fact that the
 world is not a uniform whole, but a
 collection of many different parts, each
 with its own peculiar characteristics.
 These differences are not only in the
 material, but also in the form, and in
 the manner of the parts being joined
 together. The result is a complex
 structure, which is the basis of all
 the phenomena of nature.

Sr Walter Raleigh's
OBSERVATIONS
TOUCHING
Trade and Commerce
With the
HOLLANDER,
and other Nations
As it was presented
TO
K. JAMES.

Wherein is proved, that our
Sea and Land Commodities serve
to enrich and strengthen other
Countries against our own.

With other Passages of high
Concernment

L O N D O N,
Printed for Margaret Sheares, at the sign
of the Bible in Covent-Garden.

1 6 6 9:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PRESS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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PRESS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PRESS



*May it please your most
Excellent*

M A J E S T Y.

ACcording to my duty, I am imboldned to put your Majesty in mind, that about fourteen or fifteen years past, I presented you a Book of such extraordinary importance, for honour and profit of your Majesty and posterity, and doubting that it hath been laid aside and not considered of, I am encouraged (under your Majesties pardon) to present unto you one more, consisting of five propositions; neither are they grounded upon vain or idle grounds, but upon the fruition of those wonderful blessings, wherewith God hath endued your Majesties Sea and Land; by which means, you may not onely enrich and fill your Coffers, but also encrease such might and strength (as shall appear, if it may stand with your Majesties good liking to put the same in execution in the true and right
H 3 form:)

form:) so that there is no doubt but it will make you in short time a Prince of such power, so great, as shall make all the Princes your neighbours, as well glad of your friendship as fearful to offend you. That this is so, I humbly desire that your Majesty will vouchsafe to peruse this advertisement with that care and judgement which God hath given you.

Most humbly praying your Majesty, that whereas I presented these five Propositions together, as in their own natures, joyntly depending one of another, and so linked together, as the distraction of any one will be an apparent maim and disabling to the rest. That your Majesty would be pleased that they may not be separated, but all handled together joyntly and severally by Commissioners with as much speed and secrecy as can be, and made fit to be reported to your Majesty, whereby I may be the better able to perform to your Highness that which I have promised and will perform upon my life, if I be not prevented by some that may seek to hinder the honour and profit of your Majesty for their own private ends.

The

THe true ground, course and
form herein mentioned, shall
appear how other Countreys make
themselves powerfull and rich
in all kinds by Merchandize, Manu-
factory, and fulness of Trade, having
no Commodities in their own Countrey
growing to do it withall.

And herein likewise shall appear
how easie it is to draw the wealth
and strength of other Countreys to
your Kingdome, and what royal, rich,
and plentiful means God hath given
this Land to do it (which cannot be
denied) for support of Traffick and
continuall employment of your People,
for replenishing of your Majesties Cos-
sers.

And if I were not fully assured to
improve your native Commodities,
with other Traffick, three millions of
pounds more yearly then now they
are, and to bring not onely to your
Majesties Coffers within the space of
two or three years, near two millions
of pounds, but to encrease your Re-
venues many thousands yearly, and
to please and greatly profit your
people, I would not have underta-
ken so great a work: All which will

H 4

grow

grow by advancement of all kind of
Merchandizing to the utmost, there-
by to bring Manufactory into the King-
dome, and to set on work all sorts of
people in the Realm, As other Nations do
which raise their greatness by the abun-
dance of your native commodities: Whilst
we are parling and disputing whether it
be good for us or not.

children who want as to it was used
or examined to judge of the quality
of the goods and to be sure they
were not sold for less than the value

but the more they are sold for
the more they are sold for
the more they are sold for

of the goods, the more they are sold for
the more they are sold for
the more they are sold for

the more they are sold for
the more they are sold for
the more they are sold for



May it please your most excel-
lent MAJESTY.

THave diligently in my Travells observed how the Countreys herein mentioned do grow potent with abundance of all things to serve themselves and other Nations, where nothing groweth, and that their never dried fountains of wealth, by which they raise their estate to such an admirable height, as that they are at this day even a wonder to the world, proceedeth from your Majesties Seas and Lands.

I thus moved, began to dive into the depth of their policies and circumventing practices, whereby they drain and fil covet to exhaust the wealth & coin of this Kingdome, and so with our own commodities to weaken us, and finally beat us quite out of trading in other Countreys; I found that they more fully obtained these their purposes by their

H &

con

convenient priviledges, & settled constitutions, then *England* with all the Laws, & superabundance of homebred commodities which God hath vouchsafed your Sea and Land: And these, & other mentioned in this book, are the urgent causes that provoked me in my love and bounden duty to your Maiesty and my Countrey, to address my former books to your Princely hands and consideration.

By which Priviledges they draw multitudes of Merchants to Trade with them, and many other Nations to inhabit amongst them, which makes them populous, and there they make Storehouses of all foreign Commodities, wherewith upon every occasion of scarcity and dearth, they are able to furnish foreign Countries with plenty of those Commodities, which before in time of plenty they engrossed, and brought home from the same places, which doth greatly augment power and treasure to their State, besides the common good in setting their poor and people on work.

To which Priviledges they add smallness of custome, and liberty of Trade, which maketh them flourish, and their

Coun-

Countrey so plentifull of all kind of Coyn and Commodities, where little or nothing groweth, and their Merchants so flourish, that when a loss cometh they scarce feel it.

To bring this to pass, they have many advantages of us; the one is, by their fashioned Ships called *Boyers* & *Hoybats*, *Hoyes*, and others, that are made to hold great bulk of Merchandize, and to sail with a few men for profit; For example, though an *English* Ship of two hundred Tuns; and a *Holland* Ship, or any other of the petty States of the same burthen be at *Danike* or any other place beyond the Seas or in *England*, they do serve the Merchant better cheap by one hundred pounds in his Freight, then we can, by reason he hath but nine or ten Mariners and we near thirty; thus he saveth twenty mens meat and wages in a voyage, and so in all other their Ships, according to their burden, by which means they are freighted wheresoever they come, to great profit, whilst our Ships lie still and decay, or go to *Newcastle* for Coale.

Of this their smallness of Custome inwards and outwards, we have daily experi-

experience; for if two *English* Ships, or two of any other Nation be at *Burdanx*, both laden with Wine of three hundred Tuns apiece, the one bound for *Holland*, or any other petty States, the other for *England*, the Merchant shall pay about nine hundred pound custome here, and other duties, when the other in *Holland*, or any other petty States, shall be cleared for less then fifty pound, and so in all other wares and Merchandizes accordingly, which drawes all Nations to traffick with them; and although it seems but small duties which they receive, yet the multitudes of all kind of commodities and Coyn that is brought in by themselves and others, and carried out by themselves and others, is so great, that they receive more custome and duties to the State, by the greatness of their Commerce in one year, then *England* doth in two years; for the one hundredth part of Commodities are not spent in *Holland*, but vented into other Countreys, which maketh all the Countrey Merchants to buy and sell, and encrease Ships and Mariners to transport them.

My travels and meaning is not to
diminish

diminish (neither hath been) your Majesty's Revenues, but exceeding to encrease them, as shall appear, and yet please the people, as in other parts they do.

Notwithstanding, their Excises bring them in great Revenues, yet whosoever will adventure to *Burdeaux* but for six Tuns of Wine, shall be free of Excise in his own house all the year long; and this is done of purpose to animate and encrease Merchants in their Countrey.

And if it happen that a Trade be stopped by any forreign Nation, which they heretofore usually had, or hear of any good Trading which they never had, they will hinder others, and seek either by favour, money, or force, to open the gap of Traffick for advancement of Trade amongst themselves, and employment of their people.

And when there is a new course or Trade erected, they give free custome inwards and outwards, for the better maintenance of Navigation, and encouragement of the people to that business.

Thus they and others glean the wealth and strength from us to themselves,

selves, and these reasons following procure them this advantage of us :

1. The Merchant Staplers which make all things in abundance, by reason of their Store-houses continually replenished with all kind of commodities.

2. The liberty of free Traffick for strangers to buy and sell in *Holland*, and other Countreys and States, as if they were free born, maketh great intercourse.

3. The small duties levied upon Merchants,, draws all Nations to trade with them.

4. Their fashioned Ships continually freighted before ours by reason of their few Mariners, and great buik, serving the Merchant cheap.

5. Their forwardness to further all manner of trading.

6. Their wonderfull imployment of their Busses for fishing, and the great returns they make.

7. Their giving free Custome inwards and outwards, for any new erected Trade, by means whereof they have gotten already almost the sole Trade into their hands.

All Nations may buy and sell freely

is

in *France*, & there is free custome outwards twice or thrice in a year, at which time our Merchants themselves do make their great sales of *English* Commodities, and do buy and lade their great bulk of *French* Commodities to serve for the whole year; and in *Rochel* in *France*, and in *Britain*, free custome all the year long, except some small Toll, which makes great Traffick, and maketh them flourish.

In *Denmark* to encourage and enrich the Merchants, and to increase Ships and Mariners, free custome all the year long for their own Merchants, except one Moneth between *Bartholomew* tide and *Michaelmas*.

The *Hannie* Towns have advantage of us, as *Holland*, and other petty States have, and in most things imitate them, which makes them exceeding rich and plentiful of all kind of Commodities and Coyn, and so strong in Ships and Mariners, that some of their Townes have near one thousand sail of Ships.

The Merchandizes of *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Turkey*, *East* and *West Indies* are transported most by the *Hollanders* and other petty States into the *East* and *North-East* Kingdomes of *Po*

merland, Spruceland, Poland, Denmark, Sweedland, Leifland, and Germany, and the Merchandises brought from the last mentioned Kingdomes, being wonderfull many, are likewise by the *Hollanders* and other petty States most transported into the *Southern* and *Western* Dominions, and yet the situation of *England* lyeth far better for a Storehouse to serve the *Southern-East* and *North-East* Regions, than theirs doth, and hath far better means to do it, if we will bend our course for it.

No sooner a dearth of Fish, Wine, or Corn here, and other Merchandize, but forthwith the *Embdeners*, *Hamburgers*, and *Hollanders* out of their Storehouses lade fifty, or one hundred ships, or more, dispersing themselves round about this Kingdome, and carry away great store of coyn and wealth for little commodity in those times of dearth, by which means they suck our Commonwealth of their riches, cut down our Merchants, and decay our Navigation, not with their natural commodities which grow in their own Countreys, but the Merchandizes of other Countreys and Kingdomes.

Therefore it is far more easie to
 serve

serve our selves, hold up our Merchants, and encrease our Ships and Mariners, and strengthen the Kingdome, and not onely keep our money in our own Realm, which other Nations still rob us of, but bring in theirs, who carry ours away, and make the bank of Coyn and Store-house to serve other Nations as well and far better cheap than they.

Amsterdam is never without seven hundred thousand Quarters of Corn, besides the plenty they daily vent, and none of this groweth in their own Countrey: a Dearth in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Portugal* and other places, is truly observed to enrich *Holland* seven years after, and likewise the petty States.

For example, the last Dearth six years past, the *Hamburgers*, *Embdeners*, and *Hollanders* out of their Store-houses furnished this Kingdome, and from *Southampton*, *Exeter*, and *Bristol*, in a year and a half they carried away near two hundred thousand pounds from these parts onely; then what great quantity of Coyn was transported round about your Kingdome from every Port Town, and from your City
of

of London, and other Cities cannot be esteemed so little as two millions, to the great decay of your Kingdom, and impoverishing your people, discredit to the Company of Merchants, and dishonour to the Land, that any Nation that have no Corn in their own Countrey growing, should serve this famous Kingdom, which God hath so inabled within it self.

They have a continual Trade into this Kingdom with five or six hundred Ships yearly, with Merchandizes of other Countries and Kingdomes, and store them up in store houses here untill the prices rise to their minds, and we trade not with fifty Ships into their Countrey in a year, and the said number are about this Realm every Eastern wind for the most part to lade Coales and other Merchandize.

Unless there be a scarcity, or dearth, or high prices, all Merchants do forbear that place where great impositions are laid upon the Merchandize, and those places slenderly shipped, ill served, and at dear rates, and oftentimes in scarcity, and want employment for the people; and those petty States finding truly by experience, that small duties

duties imposed upon Merchandise draw all Traffick unto them, and free liberty for strangers to buy and sell doth make continual Mart; therefore what Excises or Impositions are laid upon the common people, yet they still ease, uphold, and maintain the Merchants by all possible means, of purpose to draw the wealth and strength of Christendome to themselves: whereby it appeareth, though the duties be but small, yet the customes for going out and coming in do so abound, that they increase their Revenues greatly, and make profit, plenty, and employment of all sorts by Sea and Land, to serve themselves and other Nations, as is admixable to behold: And likewise the great commerce which groweth by the same means, enableth the common people to bear their burthen laid upon them, and yet they grow rich by reason of the great commerce and Trade, occasioned by their convenient privileges, and commodious constitutions.

There was an intercourse of Traffick
in *Genoa*, and there was the flower of
commerce, as appeareth by their an-
cient Records, and their sumptuous Build-
ings, For all Nations traded with
Mcr.

Merchandise to them, and there was the Store house of all *Italy* and other places; but after they had set a great custome of xvi. per cent. all Nations left trading with them, which made them give themselves wholly to usury, and at this day we have not three Ships go there in a year: but to the contrary the Duke of *Florence* builded *Ligorn*, and set small custome upon Merchandise, and gave them great and pleasing priviledges, which hath made a rich and strong City with a flourishing State.

Furthermore touching some particulars needful to be considered, of the mighty huge fishing that ever could be heard of in the world, is upon the coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; but the great Fishery is in the *Low Countries*, and other petty States, where with they serve themselves and all Christendome, as it shall appear.

In four Towns in the East Kingdomes within the *Sound*, *Quinsbrough*, *Elbing*, *Statten*, and *Dantzick*, there are carried and vented in a year, between thirty or forty thousand Last of Herrings, sold but at fifteen or sixteen pounds the Last, is about 620000 l. and we none.

Besides Denmark, Norway, Swea-
den, Leisland, Rye, Nevill, the Nerue,
and other Port Townes within the
Sound, there is carried and vented a-
bove 10000 Lasts of Herrings, sold
at fifteen or sixteen pounds the Last,
is 170000 pounds; more yearly in
such request are our Herrings there,
that they are oftentimes sold for 20.
24. 30. and 36. pound the Last, and
we send not one Barrel into all those
Last Countreys.

The *Hollanders* sent into *Russia* near
fifteen hundred Last of Herrings, sold
about thirty shillings the Barrell, a-
mounteth to 27000 pound, and we buy
about twenty or thirty Lasts.

To *Stoade*, *Hambrough*, *Bream*, and
Embsen upon the River of *Elbe*, *Weaser*
and *Embs*, are carried and vented of Fish
and Herrings about 6000 Lasts, sold a-
bout fifteen or sixteen pound the Last,
is 100000 l. and we none.

Cleaveland, *Galickland*, up the Ri-
ver of *Rhine* to *Cullen*, *Frankford*,
or the *Maine*, and so over all *Germa-
ny*, is carried and vented Fish and
Herrings near 22000 Lasts, sold at
twenty pound the Last, is 44000 L. and
we none,

Up

Up the River of *Maze*, *Leigh*, *Maf*,
Yith, *Vendlow*, *Surphin*, *Deventer*, *Camp*,
pen, *Swoole*, and all over *Lukeland* is car-
 ried and vented 7000 Lasts of Herrings,
 sold at twenty pound the Last, is
 140000 pound, and we none.

To *Gilderland*, *Artois*, *Hennault*,
Brabant, *Flanders*, up the River of
Antwerp, all over the Arch Dukes
 Countreys are carried and vented be-
 tween eight or nine thousand Lasts,
 sold at eighteen pound the Last, is
 171000 l, and we none.

The *Hollanders* and others carried of
 all sorts of Herrings to *Roan* only in
 one year, besides all other parts of
France 50000 Lasts of Herrings sold at
 twenty pound the Last, is 100000 l,
 and we not one hundred Last thither:
 they are sold oftentimes there for
 twenty, and four and twenty, and thirty
 pound the Last.

Between *Christmas* and *Lent*, the
 duties for Fish and Herrings came to
 15000 Crowns at *Roan* onely that
 year the late *Queen* deceased; *Sir*
Thomas Parrie was Agent there then,
 and *S. Savors* his man knowes it to be
 true, who handled the business for
 pulling down the Impositions then,
 what

what great summes of money came to
all in the Port Towns to enrich the
French Kings Coffers, and to all the
Kings and States throughout Chri-
stendome to enrich their Coffers; be-
sides the great quantity vented to the
Straights, and the multitude spent in
the Low-Countries, which there is like-
wise sold for many a hundred thousand
pound more yearly, is necessary to be
remembered, and the stream to be turn-
ed to the good of this Kingdom, to
whose Sea coasts God onely hath sent
and given these great blessings and
multitude of riches for us to take, how-
soever it hath been neglected to the
hurt of this Kingdom, that any Nation
should carry away out of this Kingdom
yearly great masses of money for Fish
taken in our Seas, and sold again by
them to us, which must needs be a great
dishonour to our Nation, and hin-
drance to this Realm.

From any Port Town of any King-
dom within Christendom, the Bridge-
master or the Wharfmaster for twenty
shillings a year will deliver a true Note
of the number of Lasts of Herrings
brought to their Wharves, and their pri-
ces commonly they are sold at, but the
num-

number brought to *Danske, Cullen, Rotterdam*, and *Enchusen* is so great, as it will cost three, four, or five pound for a true Note.

The abundance of Corn groweth in the *East Kingdomes*, but the great Store-houses for grain to serve *Christendom* and the *Heathen Countries* in time of dearth, is in the *Low Countries*, wherewith upon every occasion of scarcity and dearth they do intich themselves seven years after, imploy their people, and get great fraights for their Ships in other Countries, and we not one in that course.

The mighty Vineyards and store of Salt is in *France & Spain*, but the great Vintage and Staple of Salt is in the *Low-Countries*, and they send near one thousand sail of ships with Salt and Wine onely into the *East Kingdom* yearly, besides other places, and we not one in that course.

The exceeding Groves of Wood are in the *East Kingdomes*, but the huge piles of *Mainscat, Clapbord, Fir, deal, Masts*, and *Timber* is in the *Low-Countries*, where none grow, wherewith they serve themselves, and other parts, and this kingdom with those Commodi-

ties;

ies; they have five or six hundred great
long ships continually using that Trade,
and we none in that course

The *Wool, Cloth, Lead, Tin* and di-
vers other Commodities are in *England*,
but by means of our *Wool* and *Cloth* go-
and out ruff, undrest, and undied, there
is an exceeding *Manufactory* and *Dra-*
very in the *Low Countrys*, wherewith
they serve themselves, and other Na-
tions, and advance greatly the Im-
ployment of their people at home, and
Traffick abroad, and put down ours
in Foreign parts, where our Merchants
trade unto, with our own Com-
modities.

We send into the *East Kingdoms*
yearly but one hundred ships and our
Trade chiefly dependeth upon three
Towns, *Elbing, Kingsborough*, and
Danske, for making our Sails, and
buying their Commodities sent into
this Realm at dear rates, which this
Kingdom bears the burthen of.

The *Low-Countries* send into the *East*
Kingdoms yearly about three thousand
ships, trading into every City and Port
Town, taking the advantage, and vent-
ing their Commodities to exceeding
profit, and buying and lading their
ships

ships with plenty of those Commodities, which they have from every of those Towns 20 per cent. better cheap then we, by reason of the difference of the Coyn, and their fish yields ready money, which greatly advanceth their Traffick, and decayeth ours.

They send into *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, from the *East Kingdomes* that passeth through the *Sound*, and through your narrow *Seas*, yearly of the *East Countrey* Commodities about two thousand ships, and we none in that course.

They Trade into all Cities, and *Port Towns* in *France*, and we chiefly to five or six.

They traffick into every City and *Port Town* round about this Land, with five or six hundred ships yearly, and we chiefly but to three Towns in their Countrey, and but with forty ships.

Notwithstanding the *Low-Countries* have as many ships & vessels as eleven Kingdomes of Christendome have, let *England* be one, and build every year near one thousand ships, & not a timber tree growing in their own Countrey, and that also all their home-bred Commodities.

Commodities that grow in their Land in a year, (less then one hundred good Ships are able to carry them away at one time,) yet they handle the matter so for setting them all on work, that their Traffick with the Haunce Towns exceeds in shipping all Christendom.

We have all things of our own in superabundance to increase Traffick, and Timber to build ships, and Commodities of our own to lade about one thousand Ships and Vessels at one time, (besides the great fishing) and as fast as they have made their voyages, might relade again, and so year after year all the year long to continue, yet our ships and Mariners decline, and Traffick and Merchants daily decay.

The main bulk and mass of *Herrings* from whence they raise so many millions yearly that enrich other Kingdomes, *Kings* and *States* Coffers, and likewise their own people, proceedeth from your Seas and Lands, and the return of the Commodities and Coyne they bring home in exchange of fish and other Commodities are so huge, as would require a large discourse apart; all the amends they make us, is, they bear us out of Trade in all parts with

with our own Commodities

For instance : We had a great Trade in *Russia* seventy years, and about fourteen years past we sent store of goodly Ships to trade in those parts, and three years past we set out but four, and this last year two or three ; but to the contrary the *Hollanders* about twenty years since traded thither with two Ships only, yet now they are increased to about thirty or forty, and one of their Ships is as great as two of ours, and at the same time, (in their troubles there) that we decreased, they increased, and the chiefest Commodities they carry with them thither, is *English* Cloth, Herrings taken in our Seas, *English* Lead and Pewter made of our Tin, besides other Commodities ; all which we may do better than they. And although it be a cheap Countrey, and the Trade very gainfull, yet we have almost brought it to nought, by disorderly trading, joynt-stock, and the Merchants banding themselves one against another.

And so likewise we used to have 8. or 9 great Ships to go continually a fishing to *Wardhouse*, and this year but one, and so *per rato* they out go us in all kind of fishing and merchandizing in all Countreys,

tries, by reason they spare no cost, nor deny no priviledges that may incourage advancement of trade and manufactory.

Now if it please, and with your Majesties good liking stand.

To take notice of these things which I have conceived to be fit for your Majesties consideration, which in all humbleness (as duty bindeth me) I do tender unto your Majesty, for the unfeigned zeal I bear to the advancement of your honour and profit, and the general good of your subjects; it being apparent that no three Kingdoms in Christendome can compare with your Majesty for support of Traffick, and continually employment of your people within themselves, having so many great means both by Sea and Land to enrich your Coffers, multiply your Navy, inlarge your Traffick, make your Kindomes powerful, and your people rich; yet through idleness they are poor, wanting employment, many of your Land and Coast Towns much ruinated, and your Kingdome in need

of Coyn, your Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners decayed, which your Majesties Neighbour Princes, without these means, abound in wealth inlarge their Towns, increase their Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners, and find out such employment for their people, that they are all advantageous to their Commonwealth, only by ordaining commodious constitutions in Merchandizing, and fulness of Trade in Manufactory.

God hath blest your Majesty with incomparable benefits.

AS with Copper, Lead, Iron, Tin, Allum, Copperass, Saffron, Fells, and divers other native Commodities, to the number of about one hundred, and other Manufactories vendible to the number of about one thousand, (as shall appear) besides Corn, whereof great quantity of Beer is made, and most transported by strangers, as also Wooll, whereof much is shipped forth unwrought into Cloath or Stuffs, and Cloth transported, undrest and undied, which doth imploy and maintain near fifty thousand people in foreign parts,
your

your Majesties people wanting the im-
ployment in *England*, many of them
being inforced to live in great want,
and seek it beyond the Seas.

Coals, which do imploy hundreds
of Strangers ships yearly to transport
them out of this Kingdom, whilst we do
not imploy twenty ships in that course.

Iron Ordnance, which is a Jewel of
great value, far more than it is account-
ed, by reason that no other Countrey
could ever attain unto it, although they
have assayed with great charge.

Your Majesty hath Timber of your
own for building of ships, and commo-
dities plenty to lade them, which com-
modities other Nations want, yet your
Majesties people decline in Shipping,
Traffick, and Mariners.

These Inconveniencies hap-
pen by three causes espe-
cially,

1. *The unprofitable course of Mer-
chandizing.*
2. *The want of course of full Ma-
nufactory of our home-bred Com-
modities.*

3. *The undervaluing of our Coyns, contrary to the rules of other Nations.*
-

For Instance :

THE Merchant Adventurers by over-trading upon credit, or with money taken up upon exchange, whereby they lose usually ten or twelve, and sometimes fifteen or sixteen *per cent*, are enforced to make sale of their cloathes at under-rates, to keep their credit, whereby cloaths being the Jewel of the Land, is undervalued, and the Merchant in short time eaten out.

The Merchants of *Ipswich*: whose Trade for *Elbing* is chiefly for fine cloaths, & some few sorting cloaths, all died and drest within our Land, do for the most part, buy their fine cloaths upon Time, and by reason they go so much upon credit, they are enforced (not being able to stand upon their Markets) to sell, giving 15. or 18. Moneths day of payment for their cloaths, and having sold them, they then presently sell their Bills so taken for cloath, allowing after the rate of fourteen or fifteen.

Coyne
er Na
fifteen, and sometimes twenty per cent,
which money they imploy forthwith in
wares at excessive prices, and lose as
much more that way, by that time their
wares be sold at home; Thus by over-
running themselves upon credit, they
disable themselves & others, inhancing
the prices of foreign commodities, and
pulling down the rates of our own.

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r
The West-Country Merchants that
trade with cloths into *France* or *Spain*,
do usually imploy their servants, (young
men of small experience) who by cun-
ning combining of the *French* & *Spanish*
Merchants, are so entrapped, that when
all customes and charges be accompted,
their Masters shall hardly receive their
principal moneys. As for returns out of
France, their silver and gold is so high-
ly rated, that our Merchants cannot
bring it home, but to great loss;
therefore the *French* Merchants set
higher rates upon their commodities,
which we must either buy dear, or
let our monys lie dead there a long
time, until we may conveniently im-
ploy the same.

The Northern Merchants of *York*,
Hull and *Newcastle*, trade onely in white
Kerseys and coloured, dozens, and

I s

every

every Merchant, be his Adventure never so small, doth for the most part send over an unexperienced youth, unfit for merchandizing, which bringeth to the Stranger great advantage, but to his Master and Common-weal great hindrance; for they before their goods be landed, go to the Stranger, and buy such quantities of Iron, Flax, Corn, and other Commodities, as they are bound to lade their Ships withall, which Ships they engage themselves to relade within three weeks, or a moneth, and do give the price the Merchant Stranger asketh, because he gives them credit, and lets them ship away their Iron, Flax, and other Commodities, before they have sold their Kersies, and other Commodities, by which means extraordinary dear Commodities are returned into this Realm, and the Servant also is forced to sell his Cloths underfoot, and oftentimes to loss, to keep his credit, and to make payment for the Goods before shipped home, having some twenty days, or a moneths respite to sell the Cloths, and to give the Merchant satisfaction for his Iron, Flax, and other wares; by which extremities our home-bred Commodities are abased.

Toushe

Touching Manufactory.

There have been about fourscore thousand undrest and undied Cloths yearly transported.

It is therefore evident, that the Kingdom hath been yearly deprived of about 400000 £ . within this five and fifty years, which is near twenty millions that would have been gained by the labour of poor workmen in that time, with the Merchants gains for bringing in dying Stuffs, and return of Cloths drest and dyed, with other benefits to the Realm, besides exceeding enlarging of Traffick, and increase of ships and Mariners.

There would have been gained in that time about three millions by increase of Custome upon Commodities returned for Cloths drest and died, and for dying Stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and used for the same.

There hath been also transported in that time yearly by Bayse, Northern and Devonshire Kerseys white, about
50000

50000. cloths, counting three Kerfies to a cloth, whereby hath been lost about five millions, by those sorts of cloths in that time, which would have come to poor workmen for their labour, with the customs for dying stuffs, and the peoples profit for bringing them in, with returns of other commodities and freights for shipping.

Bayes are transported white into *Amsterdam*, and being there drest and dyed, are shipped into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Kingdomes, where they are sold in the name of *Flemish Bayes*, setting their own Town Seal upon them, so that we lose the very name of our home-bred commodities, and other Countries get the reputation and profit thereof: Lamentable it is, that this Land should be deprived of so many above-mentioned Millions, and that our Native commodities of Cloth, ordained of God for the natural subjects, being so royal and rich in it self, should be driven to so small advantage of reputation and profit to your Majesty and people, and so much improved and intercepted by strangers, considering that God hath enabled, and given your Majesty power

to advance dressing and dying, and transporting of all your Cloths, within a year or two; I speak it knowingly, to shew how it may be done laudably, lawfully, and approved to be honourable, feasible, and profitable.

All the Companies of your Land transport their cloths drest and dyed, to the good of your Kingdome, except the Merchant Adventurers, whereby the *Eastland* and *Turkey* Merchants, with other Companies, do increase your Majesties customs by bringing in, and spending dying Stuffs, and setting your people on work, by dressing before they transport them; and they might increase far more custom to your Majesty, and make much more profit to themselves, and this Realm, and set many thousands of poor people more on work for dressing and dying, and likewise imploy more Ships and Mariners, for bringing in dyed Stuffs, were it not for the Merchant Adventurers, who transport their cloths white, rough undrest and undyed, into the *Low Countries*, where they sel them to the strangers, who afterwards dress, dye & stretch them to such unreasonable lengths, contrary to our Law, that they prevent

vent and fore-stall our Markets, and cross the just prohibitions of our State and Realm, by their Agents and Factors lying in divers places with our own Cloths, to the great decay of his Kingdome in generall, and discredit of our cloaths in particular.

If the account were truly known, it would be found that they make not clear profit, only by Cloth transported rough, undrest, and undied, sixty thousand pounds a year; But it is most apparent your Majesty in your Customs, your Merchants in their sales and prices, your Subjects in their labours, for lack of not dressing and dying, your Ships and Mariners in not bringing in of dying Srufts, and spending of Allum, is hindred yearly near a million of pounds, so that Trade is driven to the great hindrance of your Majesty and people, by permitting your native commodities to pass rough, undrest, and undied. by the Merchant Adventurer.

Touching Fishing.

THe great Sea business of Fishing doth employ near twenty thousand ships, and Vessels, and four hundred thousand people are employed yearly upon your Coast of *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland*, with sixty Ships of War, which may prove dangerous.

The *Hollanders* only have about three thousand ships to fish with all, and fifty thousand people are employed yearly by them upon your Majesties coasts of *England Scotland and Ireland*.

These three thousand fishing ships & vessels of the *Hollanders*, do employ near nine thousand others ships and vessels, and one hundred & fifty thousand persons more by Sea & Land to make provision to dress and transport the Fish they take; and return Commodities, whereby they are enabled, and do build yearly one thousand ships and vessels, having not one timber tree growing in their own Countrey, nor home-bred Commodities to lade one hundred ships, and yet they have twenty thousand ships and vessels, and all employed
King

King *Henry* the seventh, desirous to make his Kingdomes powerfull & rich, by encrease of Ships and Mariners, and employment of his people, sent unto his Sea-coast Towns, moving them to set up the great and rich fishing, with promise to give them needful priviledges, and to furnish them with loanes of money, if need were, to encourage them, yet his people were slack. Now since I have traced this business, and made mine endeavours known unto your Majesty, your Noble men, able Merchants, and others, (who having set down under their hands for more assurance) promised to disburse large summes of money for the building up of this great and rich large Sea City, which will encrease more strength to your Land, give more comfort, and do more good to all your Cities and Towns, than all the Companies of your Kingdome, having fit and needful priviledges, for the upholding and strengthening of so weighty and needful a business.

For example, twenty Busses built and put into a Sea coast Town where there is not one Ship before, there must be to carry, recarry, transport, and make

make provision for one Buſs, three Ships; likewise every Ship ſetting on work thirty ſeveral Trades and Occupations, and four hundred thouſand perſons by Sea and Land, inſomuch as three hundred perſons are not able to make one Fleet of Nets in four monerhs for one Buſs which is no ſmall employment.

Thus by twenty Buſſes are ſet on work near eight thouſand perſons by Sea and Land, and an encrease of above one thouſand Mariners; and a Fleet of eighty ſail of Ships to belong to one Town, where none were before to take the wealth out of the Sea to enrich and ſtrengthen the Land, only by raiſing of twenty Buſſes.

Then what good one thouſand, or two thouſand will do, I leave to your Maſteſties conſideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how neceſſary Fiſhermen are to the Commonwealth, and how needfull to be advanced and cheriſhed; viz.

1. For taking Gods bleſſing out of the Sea to enrich the Realm, which otherwiſe we loſe.

2. For ſetting the people on work.

3. For

3. For making plenty and cheapness in the Realm.

4. For encreasing of Shipping, to make the Land powerful.

5. For a continual Nursery for breeding and encreasing our Mariners.

6. For making employment of all sorts of people, as blind, lame, and others by Sea and Land from ten or twelve years and upwards.

7. For enriching your Majesties Coffers, for Merchandises returned from other Countries for Fish and Herrings.

8. For the encrease and enabling of Merchants, which now droop and daily decay.

Touching the Coyne.

FOR the most part, all Monarchies and free States, both *Heathen* and *Christian*, as *Turky*, *Barbary*, *France*, *Polland*, and others, do hold for a rule of never failing profit, to keep their Coyne as higher rates within their own Territories, than it is in other Kingdoms.

The Causes.

1. To preserve the Coyn within their own Territories.
2. To bring unto themselves the Coyn of Foreign Princes.
3. To enforce Merchant strangers to take their commodities at high rates, which this Kingdom bears the burthen of.

For instance.

THE King of *Barbary* perceiving the Trade of Christian Merchants to encrease in this Kingdom, and that the returns out of his Kingdoms were most in Gold, whereby it was much enhanced, raised his Ducket (being then currant for three ounces) to four, five, and six ounces; nevertheless it was no more worth in *England*, being so raised, then when it went for three ounces.

This Ducket currant for three ounces in *Barbary*, was then worth in *England* seven shillings and six pence, and no more worth, being raised to six ounces, since which (time adding to it a small piece of Gold) he hath raised it to eight.

eight, and lastly to ten ounces, yer at this day it is worth but ten shillings and one penny, notwithstanding your Majesties late raising of your gold.

Having thus raised his gold, he then devised to have plenty of silver brought into his Kingdom, raised the Royal of eight, being but two ounces to three & three pence half penny, which caused great plenty of silver to be brought in, and to continue in his Kingdome.

France.

THe *English Iacobus* goeth for three and twenty shillings in Merchandizing.

The *French Crown* for seven shillings and six pence.

Also the King hath raised his silver four sounce in the Crown.

North-Holland.

THe double *Iacobus* goeth for three and twenty shillings sterling.

The

The *English* Shilling is there eleven pence, which is two shillings over in the pound.

Poland.

THE King of *Poland* raised his *Hungary* Ducket from 36 to $77\frac{1}{2}$ *Polish* groshes, and the Rix Dollor from 36 to 47 and $\frac{1}{2}$ groshes, the Rix Dollor worth in *Poland* 47 and $\frac{1}{2}$ groshes, is by account valued at 6 s. 4 d. Sterling, and here in *England* is worth but 4 s. 7 d. The *Hungary* Ducket 77 is worth by account in *Poland* 10 s. 4 d. and in *England* is worth but 7 s. 10 d. The *Jacobus* of *England* here current for 24 s in *Poland* 24 s, at the rate of 7 s. 10 d. for the *Hungary* Ducket.

Now to turn the stream and riches raised by your Majesties native Commodities into the natural Channel, from whence it hath been a long time diverted.

May

*May it please your Majesty
to consider these points
following.*

1. Whether it be not fit that a State-Merchant be settled within your Dominions, which may both dispose more profitably of the riches thereof, and encounter policies of Merchant-strangers, who now go beyond us in all kind of profitable Merchandizing.

2. Whether it be not necessary that your native commodities should receive their full Manufactory by your Subjects within your Dominions.

3. Whether it be not fit the Coals should yield your Majesty and Subjects a better value, by permitting them to pass out of the Land, and that they be in your Subjects Shipping onely transported.

4. Whether it be not fit your Majesty presently raise your Coyn to as high rates, as it is in the parts beyond the Seas.

5. Whether it be not necessary that the great Sea-business of Fishing be forthwith set forward.

If

If it please your Majesty to approve of these considerations, and accordingly to put them in a right course of execution, I assure myself (by Gods help) in short time your Majesties Customs, and the continual coming into your Coffers will be exceedingly encreased, your Ships and Mariners trebled, your Land and waste Townes (which are now run out of Gates) better replenished, and your people employed, to the great enriching and honour of your Kingdomes, with the applause, and to the comfort of all your Loyal Subjects.

May it please your Majesty.

I Have the rather undergone the pains to look into their policies, because I have heard them profess they hoped to get the whole Trade and Shipping of Christendome into their own hands, as well for transportation, as otherwise for the command and master of the Seas, to which end I find that they do daily increaseth their Traffick, augmenting their Shipping, multiplying their Mariners, strength and wealth in all kindes, whereat I have grieved the more, when I considered how God hath endued this King-

Kingdomes above any three Kindomes in Christendome with divers varieties of home-bred commodities, which others have not, & cannot want, & indued us with sundry other means to continue & maintain trade of Merchandizing & Fishing beyond them all, whereby we might prevent the deceivers, ingross the commodities of the ingrossers, enrich our selves, and increase our Navigation, Shipping, & Mariners, so as it would make all Nations to vail the Bonnet to *England*, if we would not be still wanting to our selves in employment of our people.

Which people being divided into three parts, two parts of them are meer spenders and consumers of a Commonwealth, therefore I aim at these points following.

To allure and encourage the people for their private gain, to be all workers and creators of a Commonwealth.

To enrich and fill your Majesties Coffers by a continual coming in, and make your people wealthy, by means of their great and profitable trading and employment.

To vent our home-bred commodities to far more reputation, and much more profit

profit to the King, the Merchant, and the Kingdome.

To return the Merchandizes of other Countries at far cheaper rates then now they are, to the great good of the Realm in general.

To make the Land powerful, by increasing of Ships and Mariners,

To make your peoples takings in general to be much more every day, then now they are, which by Gods help, will grow continually more and more, by the great concourse and commerce that will come by settled constitutions and convenient priviledges, as in other parts they do by this their great freedom of Trade.

All this, and much more is done in other Countreys, where nothing groweth, so that of nothing they make great things.

Then how much more mighty things might we make, where so great abundance, and variety of home-bred commodities, and rich materials growes, for your people to work upon, and other plentiful means to do that withall, which other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but of necessity, must be furnished from hence?

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and

And now wheteas our merchandizing is wild, utterly confused, and out of frame, as at large appeareth, a State-Merchant will roundly and effectually bring all the premises to pass, fill your Havens with ships, those ships with Mariners, your Kingdome full of Merchants, their houses full of our landish commodities, and your Coffers full of coyn, as in other parts they do, & your people shall have just cause to hold in happy memory, that your Majesty was the beginner of so profitable, praiseworthy, and renowned a work, being the true Philosophers Stone to make your Majesty a rich and potent King, & your Subjects happy people, onely by settling of a State-Merchant, whereby your people may have fulness of Trade and Manufactory, and yet hold both honourable and profitable Government without breakings of Companies.

And for that in the settling of so weighy a business, many things of great consequence must necessarily fall into consideration. I humbly pray that your Majesty may be pleased (for the bringing of this great service to light) to give me leave to nominate the Commissioners, and your Majesty to give them

them power to call before them such men as they shall think fit to conferre with upon oath, or otherwise as occasion shall offer; that the said Commissioners with all speed, for the better advancement of this honourable and profitable work, may prepare, and report the same unto your Majesty.

*your Majesties most loyal
and true-hearted Subject,*

GOVERNMENT

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THE



THE SEAT

OF GOVERNMENT.

*That the Seat of Government is upheld
by the two great pillars thereof, viz.
Civil Iustice and Martial Policie,
which are framed out of Husbandry,
Merchandize, and Gentry of the
Kingdom.*

They say, that the goodliest Ce-
dars which grow on the high
Mountains of *Libanus*, thrust
their roots between the cliffs of hard
Rocks, the better to bear themselves
against the strong storms that blow
there. As Nature hath instructed
those

those Kings of Trees, so hath Reason taught the Kings of men, to root themselves in the hardy Hearts of their faithful Subjects. And as those Kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the first would be broken soon from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; so would the other easily totter, were they not fastened on their heads, with the strong chains of Civil Justice and Martial Discipline.

1. For the administration of the first, even God himself hath given direction, *Judges and officers shalt thou make, which shall judge the People with righteous Judgements.*

2. The second is grounded on the first Laws of the World and Nature, that force is to be repelled by Force. Yea Moses in the 20. of *Exodus*, and elsewhere, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuse in both, so have we heard of the decline and ruine of many Kingdomes and States long before our dayes: for that Policie hath never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short season)

K ;

season where the counterfeite hath been
sold for the natural, and the outward
brew and formality for the substance.
Of the Emperour Charles the Fourth
the Writers of that Age witness, that
he used but the name of Iustice and
good order, being more learned in the
Law, then in doing right, and that he
had by farre, more knowledge then
conscience. Certainly the unjust Ma-
gistrate that fancieth to himself a solid
and untransparable body of Gold, e-
very ordinary wit can vitrifie, and
make transparent, pierce and discern
their corruptions; howsoever, be-
cause not daring, they cover their
knowledge, but in the mean while it
is also true, that constrained dissimu-
lation, either in the proud heart, or in
the oppressed, either in publick e-
states, or in private persons, where
the fear of God is not prevalent,
doth in all the leifure of her lurking,
but sharpen her teeth, the voluntary
being no less base, then the forced
malicious. Thus it fared between the
Barons of *England*, and their Kings,
between the Lords of *Switzerland*,
and their people, between the *Sici-
lians*, and the *French*, between the

Dolphin and John of Burgoin, between Charles the Ninth, and the French Protestants, and between Henry the Third, his Successour, and the Lords of Guise; and hereof in place of more particulars, the whole world would serve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geography, to delineate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is easie enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintaned it self in lasting happiness; it hath ever acquired more honour by perswading, than by bearing: for as the bonds of Reason and Love are immortal, so do all other chains or cords, both rusty and rot noble parts of their own royal and politick Bodies.

But we will forbear for a while to stretch this first string of Civil Justice: for in respect of the first sort of Men, *to wit*, of those that live by their own labour, they have never been displeased where they have been suffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels; *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine is all wherein they seek their certainty and protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit-trees of the Land,

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which

which God in *Deuteronomie* commanded to be spared, they gather honey and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the ground with great labour, giving the best of their grain to the easefull and idle.

For the second sort, which are the Merchants, as the first feed the Kingdome, so do these enrich it, yea their Trades, especially those which are forcible are not the least part of our Martial policy, as is hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all ages & times assisted the Kings of this Land not only with great sums of money, but with great Fleets of Ships in all their interprises beyond the Seas. The second have seldome or never offended their Princes, to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable conditions, have ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations, give them but the Commission of Reprisal; they will either right themselves, or sit down with their own loss without complaint.

3. The third sort, which are the Gentry of *England*, these being neither seated in the lowest grounds, and thereby subject to the biting of every beast, nor in the highest mountains, and there-

thereby in danger to be torn with tempest; but the Valleys between both have their parts in the inferiour Justice, and being spread over all, are the Garrisons of good order throughout the Realm.

K s

Obfer-



OBSERVATIONS

CONCERNING

The Causes of the Magnifi-
cency and Opulency of
CITIES.



That the only way to civil-
ize and reform the savage
and barbarous lives, and
corrupt manners of such
people, is,

1. To be dealt withall by gentle and
loving conversation among them, to
attain to the knowlegde of their Lan-
guage, and of the multitude of their
special discommodities, and inconveni-
encies in their manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired re-
putation amongst them, upon a solid
and true foundation of Piety, Justice,
and Wisdome, conjoynd with forti-
tude and power.

3. The

3. The third is, discreetly to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their own estate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion* were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, &c.

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation, of the certainty, truth, and sincerity of these, together with the felicity of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advice, for the future profit and felicity of themselves and their posterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perswaded to withdraw and unite themselves into several Colonies; that so an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civility, for the better succour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates & Ministers of the King, or other

Magistrate.

superiour power, under whom this Reformation is sought; which course the *Stoick* tells, that *Thofeus* took, after he had taken upon them the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the people into one City, that before lived dispersedly in many Villages. The like is put in practice at this day by the *Portugals*, and *Iesuites*, that they may with less difficulty and hinderance reform the rough behaviour and savage life of the people of *Brazeel*, who dwell scattered and dispersed in Caves and Cottages made of boughs and leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great built more then seventy Cities, *Selencus* built three Cities, called *Appanice*, to the honour of his Wife, and five called *Laodicea*, in memory of his mother, and five called *Selencia*, to the honour of himself.

*Safety for Defence of the People
and their Goods, in and near
the Town.*

IN the situation of Cities, there is to be required a place of safety, by some natural strength, commodiousness for

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Navigation and Conduct, for the attaining of plenty of all good things, for the sustenance and comfort of mans life, and to draw trade and intercourse of other Nations, as if the same be situate in such sort; as many people have need to repair thither for some naturall commodity or other of the Countrey, which by traffick and transportation of commodities, wherof they have more plenty then will supply their own necessity, or for receiving of things, wherof they have scarcity. And much better will it be, if the place afford some notable commodity of itself, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the same. Likewise, and withall, be so fertill, pleasant and healthful of it self, that it may afford plenty of good things, for the delight and comfort of the inhabitants.

In former times, great Nations, Kings, and Potentates have indured sharp conflicts, and held it high policy, by all means to increase their Cities with multitude of inhabitants. And to this end the *Romans* ever furnished themselves with strength and power, to make their neighbour people,

ple of necessity, willing to draw themselves to Rome to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean strength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing alwayes the vanquished Captives to Rome, for the augmentation of that City.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the *Sabines*, condescended to peace, upon condition that *Tatius* their King should come with all their people to dwell at Rome: *Tatius* did accept, and made choice of the Capitol, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his seat and Palace.

The same course held *Tamberlain* the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Sarmacauda*, still bringing unto it, the richest and wealthiest Citizens he had subdued.

And the *Ottomans*, to make the City *Constantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thousand Families, especially Artificers out of the subdued Cities, as *Mahomes* the Great from *Trabizond*, *Selim* the First from *Cairo*, and *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

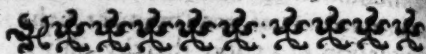
Authority and necessity, without the consideration of the conveniencies and

com-

commodiousness of situation above-mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a City, thereby only it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in magnificency or opulency; for if profit, height, and delight, go not companions therewith, no authority or necessity can retain much people or wealth.

But if the place whereupon a City is to be founded, be commodious for the aforesaid conveniencies, which help greatly for the felicity of this life, then no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of People and riches unto the same, whereby it may, by the help of Arts and Industry, in time become magnificent and glorious.

Sir



S I R

WALTER RALEIGHS
LETTERS.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Mr.
Secretary Winwood, before his Jour-
ney to Guiana.*

Honourable S I R,

I Was lately perswaded by
two Gentlemen, my an-
cient Friends, to acquaint
your Honour with some
offers of mine, made here-
tofore for a Journey to *Guiana*, who
were of opinion, That it would be bet-
ter understood now, than when it was
first propounded, which advice having
surmounted my dispair, I have pre-
sumed to send unto your Honour the Co-
pies of those Letters which I then
wrote, both to his Majesty, & to the Treas-
urer. *Cecill*, wherein as well the rea-
sons

sons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made, are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hear-say but what mine eyes have seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no end: Because those that had the greatest trust, were resolved not to believe it, not because they doubted the Truth, but because they doubted my Disposition towards themselves; where (if God had blessed me in the Enterprize) I had recovered his Majesties favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion they never had any. Our late Worthy Princes of *Wales* was extream curious in searching out the nature of my Offences, the Queens Majestie hath informed her self from the beginning. The King of *Denmark* at both times of his being here, was throughly satisfied of my innocencie; they would otherwise never have moved his Majestie on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not use to sue for men suspect; but Sir, since they all have done it out of their charitie,
and

and but with references to me alone. Your Honour (whose respect hath onely relation to his Majesties service) strengthened by the example of those Princes, may with the more hardnes do the like, being Princes to whom his Majesties good estate is no less dear; and all men that shall oppugn it no less hatefull then to the King himself.

It is true Sir, That his Majesty hath sometimes answered, That his Council knew me better then he did; meaning some two or three of them, and it was indeed my infelicitie; for had his Majestic known me, I had never been here where I now am: or had I known his Majestic, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majestic not knowing of me hath been my ruine, and his Majesty mis-knowing of them, hath been the ruine of a goodly part of his estate: but they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his Majesties knowledge. But Sir, how little soever his Majestic knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majesty both for my Life, and all that remains, of which,
but

but for his Majesty, nor Life, nor ought
else had remained. In this respect Sir
I am bound to yield up the same life,
and all I have for his Majesties service:
To die for the King, and not by the
King, is all the ambition I have in the
World.

Walter Raleigh.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
his Wife, from Guiana.*

Sweet Heart.

I Can yet write unto you but with a
weak hand, for I have suffered the
most violent Calenture for fifteen
dayes, that ever man did, and lived:
but God that gave me a strong heart in
all my adversities, hath also now
strengthened it in the hell fire of
heat.

We have had two most grievous
sicknesses in our ship, of which fourty
two have died, and there are yet many
sick, but having recovered the land of
Guiana, this 12. of November, I hope
we shall recover them. We are yet two
hun-

hundred men, and the rest of our Fleet are reasonable strong, strong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London*, to make our strength known to the Spanish King by his Ambassador, have not taught the Spanish King to fortifie all the enterances against us, howsoever we must make the adventure, and if we perish, it shall be no honour for *England*. nor gain for his Majesty to lose among many other, an hundred as valiant Gentleman as *England* hath in it.

Of Captain *Baylies* safe coming from us at the *Canaries*, see a Letter of *Kemishesto* Mr. *Scony*, and of the unnatural weather, storms, and rains, and winds. He hath in the same letter, given a touch of the way that hath ever been sailed in fourry dayes, now hardly performed in fourteen dayes. God I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In passage to the *Canaries*, I stayed at *Gomerah*, where I took water in peace, because the Countrey durst not deny it me. I received there of an English race, a present of Oranges, Lemmons, Quinces, & Pome-granates, with-

out

out which I could not have lived; those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your Son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the Line. All my servants have escaped but *Evab* and my Cook, yet all have had the sickness. *Crofts* and *March*, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr. Secretarie *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miserie: yet of men of sort, we have lost our Serjeant Major, Captain *Pigos*, and his Lieutenant, Captain *Edward Hastings*, who would have died at home, for both his Liver, Spleen, and Brains were rotten. My Sons Lieutenant *Payson*, and my Cousin Mr. *Hems*, Mr. *Mordant*, Mr. *Gardiner*, Mr. *Hayward*, Captain *Jenning* the Merchant, *Kemish* of *London*, and the Master Chyrurgeon, Mr. *Resner*, Mr. *Moor* the Governour of the *Barmondas*, our Provost Marshal *William Steed*, Lieutenant *Kescie*, but to mine inestimable grief, *Hammon* and *Talbot*. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us, in Gods hands

hands we were, and in him we trust.

This bearer, Captain *Alley*, for his infirmity of his head I have sent back, an honest valiant man, he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at *Litchbury*, Sir *John Leigh* and Mr. *Bower*, whose Nephew *Knevis* is well, and to my cosin *Blundell*, and my most devoted and humble service to her Majestic.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indians*, were a vanity, but my name hath still lived among them: here they feed me with fresh meat, and all that the Countrey yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my Son.

From *Calliana* in *Guiana* the 24. of *November*.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
Sir Ralph Winwood.

SIR,
AS I have not hitherto given you any account of our proceedings and passages towards the *Indies*, so have I no other subject to write of, then of
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the greatest misfortunes that ever be-
fel any man : for whereas , for the
first , All those that Navigate between
Cape de Verd and *America* do pass be-
tween fifteen or twenty dayes at most,
we found the wind so contrary , and
which are also contrary to nature , so
many storms and rains, as we spent six
weeks in the passage, by reason where-
of, and that in so great heat we wanted
water ; for at the Isle *Prano* of *Cape de*
Verd, we lost our Anchours and Cables,
and our water Casks , being driven
from the Island with a *Huricano* , and
were like all to have perished, Great
sickness fell amongst us , and carried
away great numbers of our ablest men
both for Sea and Land. The seven-
teenth of *November*, we had sight of *Gui-*
ana , and soon after came to anchor in
five degrees at the River *Galliano*, here
we staid till the fourth of *December*,
landed our sick men, set up the Barges
& Shallops, which were brought out of
England in quarters, washed our Ships,
and took in fresh water, being fed, and
cherished by the *Indians* of my old ac-
quaintance , with a great deal of love
and respect, my self being in the hands
of death these six weeks, and was not a-
ble

able otherwise to move then as I was carried in a Chear, gave order to five small ships, to sail into *Oronogue*, having Captain *Kemish* for their Conductor towards the Mines, and in those five Ships five Companies of fifty under the command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, brethren to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger, and heat which they have endured, my Son had the third Company, Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the fourth Company, Captain *Childly*, by his Lieutenant, the fifth: but as my Serjeant Major Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countrey* died in the former miserable passage, for my Lieutenant *Sir Warhams S. Lister* lay sick without hope of life, and the charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had also served long with infinite commendations; but by reason of my absence, and of *Sir Warhams*, was not so well obeyed as the Enterprize required. As they passed up the River, the *Spaniard* began the War, and shot at us both with their Ordnance and Muskets, whereupon the Companies were for-

forced to charge them, and soon after
beat them out of the Town. In the af-
fault, my Son (more desirous of ho-
nour then safety) was slain, with whom
to say truth) all the respects of this
world have taken end in me. And al-
though these five Captains had as weak
Companies as ever followed valiant
Leaders, yet were there amongst them
some twenty or thirty valiant adven-
turous Gentlemen, and of singular
courage, as of my Sons Company, Mr.
Knives, Mr. Hammon, Mr. Langworth,
Mr. John Pleasington; his Officers, Sir
John Hamden, Mr. Simon Leak Corpo-
ral of the Field, Mr. Hammon the elder
brother, Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham,
Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tre-
m, Mr. Mullinax, Mr. Winter and his
brother, Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert,
Mr. Bradshaw, Captain Hall, and o-
thers.

Sir, I have set down the names of
these Gentlemen, to the end, that
his Majesty shall have cause to use
their service, it may please you to take
notice of them for very sufficient Gen-
tlemen. The other five Ships staid at
Trinidado, having no other Port ca-
table for them near Guiana. The

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second Ship was demanded by my Vice Admiral Captain *John Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the sufficientest Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The third by Sir *Warham S. Leiger*, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir *John Fern*. The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With these five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they set upon us, our force divided, the one half in *Orinogue* an hundred and fifty miles from us, we had not onely been torn in pieces, but all those in the River had also perished, being of no force at all for the Sea fight; for we had resolved to have been burnt by their sides, had the Armado arrived: but belike, they staid for us at *Margarit*, by which they knew we must pass towards the *Indies*: for it pleased his Majesty to value us at so little, as to command me upon my Allegiance, to set down under my hand the Countrey, and the River by which I was to enter it; to set down the number of my men, and burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carryed, which being known to the *Spanish* Ambassadors, and by him

to the King of Spain, a dispatch was made, and letters sent from *Madrid*, before my departure out of the *Thames*: for his first Letter sent by a Barque of Advice, was dated the 19 of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, which Letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour, the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be interpreted or not. The second by the King, dated the second of *May*, sent also by a Colonel of *Diego de Polonioque*, Governour of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidad*. The third by the Bishop of *Porricks*, and delivered to *Polonioque* the 15. of *July*, at *Trinidad*. And the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customs in the *Indies*. At the same time, by that of the Kings and, sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedy levying of three hundred souldiers, and six pieces of Ordnance to be sent from *Porricks*, for the defence of *Guiana*, an hundred and fifty from *Nuevo Reino de Granada*, under the command of Captain *Anthony Misica*, and the other hundred and fifty from *Porricks*, to be conducted by Captain *Fran. Landis*.

Now Sit, if all that have traded to

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the *Indies* since his Majesties time knew that the *Spaniards* have slayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but Merchant men, what death and cruel torment shall we expect, if they conquer us? Certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, being set out thence as we were, both for numbers, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an Apology for not working the Mine, (although I know his Majestie expects) whom I am to satisfie so much, as my self, having lost my son, and my estate in the Enterprise, yet it is true, that the *Spaniards* took more care to defend the passage leading unto it, then they did the Town which by the Kings Instructions, they might easily do, the Countreys being *Aspera & Nemoreosa*.

But it is true, that when Captain *Kemish* found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in most places near the Myne by a mile, and where he found a descent, a volley of Muskets came from the Woods upon the Boat, and slew two Rowers, and hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman of Captain *Thorpe* of which wound he languisheth to this day.

this day. He. to wit, *Kemish*, following his own advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the Myne; for he gave me this for an excuse at his return; that the Companies of *English* in the Town of *S. Thome* were not able to defend it, against the daily and nightly assaults of the *Spaniards*, that the passages to the Mines, were thick and unpassable woods, and that the Myne being discovered, they had no men to work it; did not discover it at all: for it is true, the *Spaniards* having two gold Mines near the Town, the one possessed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Parah*, the second by *Herminian Froisino*, the third of silver, by *Captain Francisco*, for the want of *Negroes* to work them; for as the *Indians* cannot be constrained by a Law of *Charles the Fifth*, so the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the labour of those Mines, whatsoever the *Bragadochio*, the *Spanish* Ambassador saith. I shall prove under the Proprietors hand, by the Custom Book, and the Kings *Quinto*, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I shall also make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how easily those Mines, and five or six more

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of them may be possessed, and the most
of them in those parts, which never
have as yet been attempted by any, nor
by any passage to them, nor ever disco-
vered by the *English, French, or Dutch*.
But as *Kemish* his return from *Orinogue*,
when I rejected his counsel, and his
course, and told him that he had un-
done me, and wounded my credit with
the King past recovery, he slew himself:
for I told him, that seeing my Son was
slain, I cared not if I had lost an hun-
dred more in opening of the Myne, so
my credit had been saved: for I protest
before God, had not Captain *Whimsey*
(to whom I gave more countenance,
than to all the Captains of my Fleet)
run from me at the *Granadoes*, and car-
ried another Ship with him of Captain
Wolfeſon's. I would have left my body
at *S. Thomas* by my Sons, or have
brought with me out of that or other
Mynes, so much Gold-ore, as should
have satisfied the King. I propounded
no vain thing; what shall become of
me I know not, I am unpardoned in
England, and my poor estate consumed,
and whether any Prince will give me
bread or not I know not. I desire your
Honour to hold me in your good opi-
nion, to remember my service to my
Lord

Lord of Arundel and Pembroke, to take
some pity on my poor Wife, to whom
I dare not write for renewing her sor-
row for her Son; and beseech you to
give a Copy of this to my Lord Carew:
for to a broken mind, a sick body, and
weak eyes, it is a torment to write ma-
ny Letters. I have found many things
of importance for discovering the State
and weakness of the Indies, which, if I
live, I shall hereafter impart unto your
Honour, to whom I shall remain a
faithful servant.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter sent
to his Wife, copied out of his
own hand-writing.

I Was loth to write, because I know
not how to comfort you, and God
knows, I never knew what sorrow
meant till now. All that I can say to
you is, that you must obey the will and
providence of God, and remember,
that the Queens Majesty bare the loss
of Prince Henry with a magnanimous

heart, and the Lady *Harrington* of his Son. Comfort your heart (dearest *Bess*) I shall sorrow for us both, I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live. I referre you to Mr. Secretary *Winwood*: Letters, who will give you a Copy of it, if you send for it: therein you shall know what hath passed: I have written that Letter, for my brains are broken, and it is a torment for me to write, and especially of misery. I have desired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord *Carew* a Copy of his Letter. I have cleansed my Ship of sick men, and sent them home: I hoped God will send us somewhat before we return. You shall hear from me, if I live, from the New-found Land, where I mean to make clean my Ships: and revictual; for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your valiant Son.

This 22. of March, From the Isle of Christophers, yours Walter Raleigh.

Post-script.

I Protest before the Majestie of God, That as Sir *Francis Drake*, and

and Sit *John Harkins* died heart broken when they failed of their enterprise. I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you, and to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve your self that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that *Kemish* might have gone directly to the Myne, and meant it, but after my sons death, he made them believe he knew not the way, and excused himself upon want of water in the River, and counterfetting many impediments, left it unsound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever: he answered, That when my Son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he resolved not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of Rascals, who after my Sons death made no account of him. He further told me that the *English* sent up into *Guiana*, could hardly defend the *Spanish* Town of *S. Thome* which they had taken, and therefore for them to passe through thick woods it was impossible, & more impossible to have victual brought them.

them into the Mountains. And it is true that the Governour *Diego Polenego*, and other four Captains being slain, whereof *Wat* slew one, *Plesington*, *Wat's* servant, and *John of Moroccos*, one of his men, slew other two. I saw five of them slain in the entrance of the Town, the rest went off in a whole body, and took more care to defend the passages to their Mynes (of which they had three within a League of the Town, besides a Myne that was about five miles off) than they did of the Town itself. Yet *Kemish* at the first was resolved to go to the Mynes; but when he came to the bank-side to Land, and had two of his men slain outright from the bank, and six other hurt, and Captain *Thornix* shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks.

Now when *Kemish* came back, and gave me the former reasons, which moved him not to open the Myne, the one the death of my Son, a second the weakness of the *English*, and their impossibilities to work, and to be victualled, a third that it were a folly to discover it for the *Spaniards*, and lastly, my weakness, and being unpardoned;
and

and that I rejected all these his Arguments, and told him, that I must leave him to himself, to resolve it to the King and State, he shut up himself into his Cabbin, and shot himself with a pocket Pistol which broke one of his ribs, and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long Knife under his short ribs up to the handle, and died. Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose Letters I referre you to know the truth. I did after the sealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business, which I pray you impart to my Lord of Northumberland, and *Silvanus Scrope*.

For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to slaughter as I was, for being commanded upon mine Allegiance to set down not only the Countrey, by the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my Ships, number, men, and my Artillery. This now was sent by the *Spanish* Ambassadour to his Master the King of Spain, the King wrote his Letters to all parts of the Indies, especially to the Governour *Palmago* of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidad*, of which the first

first Letter bore date 19. of *March* 1617. at *Madrigill*, when I had not yet left the *Thames*, which Letter I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I have also other Letters of the Kings which I reserve, and one of the Councils. The King also sent a Commission to levy three hundred Soldiers out of his Garrisons of *unie Regno de Granada & Portricho*, with ten pieces of brass Ordnance to entertain us: he also prepared an Army by Sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved, if I live I shall make it known, my brains are broken, and I cannot write much, I live yet, and I told you why. *Winney*, for whom I sold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance, than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Granadoes*, and *Woolenston* with him, so as I have now but five Ships, and out of those I have sent some into my Fly boat, a rabble of idle Rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the Fleet hath taken the pain and care that I have done, that have slept so little, and travelled so much, my friends.

friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not; God in heaven bless you, and strengthen your heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
Mr. Secretary Winwood.*

SIR,

SINCE the death of *Kemish*, it is confessed by the Serjeant Major, and others of his inward friends, that he told them, that he could have brought them unto the Myne within two hours March from the Rivers side; but because my Son was slain, my self unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reason to open the Myne either for the *Spaniard*, or for the King; they answered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) had granted my heart under the Great Seal. He replied that the grant to me was to no man, *non*

B.

But in the Law, and therefore of no force; this discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his death: but when I was resolved to write unto your Honor, he prayed me to joyn with him in excusing his not going to the Myne, I answered him I would not do it; but if my self could satisfie the King and State, that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of it: but for my part, I must avow that he knew it, and that he might with loss have done it; other excuses I would not frame: he told me that he would wait on me presently, and give me better satisfaction: but I was no sooner come from him into my Cabbin, but I heard a Pistol go over my head; and sending to know who shot it, word was brought me that *Kemish* shot it out of his Cabbin window to cleanse it; his boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his bed with much blood by him and looking in his face, saw him dead; the Pistol being but little, did but crack his rib, but turning him over, found a long Knife in his body, all but the handle. Sir, I have sent into *England* with my cousin *Herbert* (a very valiant honest Gentleman) divers unworthy persons,
good:

good for nothing, neither by Sea, nor Land; and though it was at their own suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your Honour, that the scorn of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains, and suffered more than the meanest Rascal in the Ship: these being gone, I shall be able to keep the Sea untill the end of *August*, with some four reasonable good Ships. Sir, where-soever God shall permit me to arrive in any part of *Europe*, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have done, till then, and ever I rest

Your Honours

Servant

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S

Letter to

King JAMES.

At his return from

GUIANA.

*May it please your most excellent
Majesty.*

I In my Journey outward bound, I had my men murthered at the Islands, and yet spared to take revenge, if I did discharge some *Spanish* Barks taken without spoil, if I forbear all parts of the *Spanish* Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Downs on the Sea Coasts, and did only follow the enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where without any directions from me, a *Spanish* Village was burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the Myne, By your Majesties favour, I find no reason why the *Spanish* Ambassadour should complain of me. If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murther twenty six *English*

lish men, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole moneth, and came to them on the Land without so much as one sword, and that it may not be lawfull to your Majesties Subjects, being charged first by them, to repell force by force, we may justly say, O miserable *English*!

If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campo beach*, and other places in the *Honduras* seated in the heart of the *Spanish Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said unto them at their return, and my self forbore to look into the *Indies*, because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable *Sir Walter Raleigh*!

If I have spent my poor estate, lost my Son, suffered my sickness and otherwise a world of miseries; if I have resisted with manifest hazard of my life, the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich; if when I was poor, I would have made my self rich; if when I have gotten my liberty, which all men and nature it self do much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again; if I might elsewhere

where have sold my Ship and Goods, and put five or six thousand pounds in my Purse, and yet brought her into *England*. I beseech your Majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your Majesty, that your Majesty had given liberty and trust to a man, whose end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your Majesties trust.

My Mariners told me, that if I returned from *England*, I should be undone, but I believed in your Majesties goodness, more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am the first that being free and able to enrich my self, yet hath embraced poverty and perill. And as sure I am, that my example shall make me the last: but your Majesties wisdom and goodness I have made my judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be

Your Majesties

most humble Vassal

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
his Wife, after his Condem-
nation.*

YOU shall receive (my dear Wife)
my last words in these my last
Lines; my love I send you, that you
may keep when I am dead, and my
counsell, that you may remember it
when I am no more. I would not with
my will present you sorrows (dear *Beſſ*)
let them go to the grave with me, and
be buried in the dust. And seeing that it
is not the will of God, that I shall see
you any more, bear my destruction
patiently, and with an heart like your
self.

First I send you all the thanks which
my heart can conceive, or my words ex-
press, for your many travels and cares
for me, which though they have not
taken effect as you wished, yet my debt
to you is not the less; but pay it I ne-
ver shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you for the love
you bare me living, that you do not
hide your self many dayes, but by your
travels seek to help my miserable For-
tunes, and the right of your poore
Child,

Child, your mourning cannot avail me that am But dust.

Thirdly, you shall understand, that my Lands were conveyed (*bona fide*) to my Child, the writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelve moneths, as divers can witnesse, and I trust my blood will quench their malice who desired my slaughter, that they will not seek also to kill you and yours with extreame poverty. To what friend to direct you I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial. Most sorry am I, that being thus surpris'd by death, I can leave you no better Estate, God hath prevented all my determinations, that great God which worketh all in all, and if you can live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but a vanity: Love God, and begin betimes in him shall you find true, everlasting, and endless comfort, when you have travelled and wearied your self with all sort of worldly cogitations, you shall sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve and fear God whilest he is young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be an Husband to you, and

and a Father to him, an Husband and a Father, that can never be taken from you.

Baylie oweth me a thousand pounds, and Aryan six hundred; in *Permesey* also I have much owing me. (Dear wife) I beseech you, for my Soules sake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt you shall be much sought unto, for the world thinks I was very rich; have a care to the fair pretences of men, for no greater miserie can befall you in this life, then to become a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak (God knows) not to dissuade you from Marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of God and the world. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor Child for his Fathers sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you and yours that I desired it: for know it, (my dear Wife) your Child is the Child of a true man, who in his own respect despiseth Death and his misshapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much;

much, (God knows) how hardly I steal
 this time when all sleep, and it is also
 time for me to separate my thoughts
 from the world. Beg my dead body,
 which living was denied you, and ei-
 ther lay it in *Sherburn*, or in *Exeter*
Church by my Father and Mother. I
 can say no more, Time and Death cal-
 leth me away. The everlasting God,
 powerful, infinite, and inscrutable God
 Almighty, who is goodness it self, the
 true Light and Life, keep you and
 yours, and have mercy upon me, and
 forgive my persecutors and false accu-
 sers, and send us to meet in his glorious
 Kingdome: My dear Wife farewell,
 bless my Boy, pray for me, and let my
 true God hold you both in his arms.

Thou art that was, but

now not my own,

Walter Raleigh.

Sig

**Sir Walter Raleighs Letter to
Prince Henry, touching the
model of a Ship.**

Most excellent Prince,

IF the Ship your Highness intends to build, be bigger than the *Victory*, then her beams, which are laid overthwart from side to side will not serve again, and many other of her Timbers and other stuff will not serve, whereas if she be a size less, the Timber of the old Ship will serve well to the building of a new.

If she be bigger, she will be of less use, go very deep to water, and of mighty charge, our Channels decaying every year, less nimble, less mannyable, and seldome to be used, *Grande Navio grande satica* saith the Spaniard.

A Ship of six hundred Tuns will carry as good Ordnance, as a Ship of twelve hundred Tuns, and where the greater hath double her Ordnance, the less will turn her broad side twice, before the great Ship can winde
once,

once, and so no advantage in that overplus of Guns. The lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is slow, unmaniabie, and ever full of encumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, these things are chiefly required :

1. That she be strong built,
2. Swift in sail,
3. Stout sided.
4. That her Ports be so laid, as that she may carry out her Guns all weathers.
5. That she hull and try well.
6. That she stay well, when boarding, or turning on a wind is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of the Workman; to make her swift, is to give her a large Run, or way forward, and so afterward, done by art and just proportion; and that in laying out of her bowes before, and quarters behind, the Shipwright be sure, that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Shipwrights do often fail, and then is the speed in sailing utterly spoiled.

That

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a long bearing floor, and by sharing off from above waters to the lower edge of the Ports; which done, then will she carry out her Ordinance all weathers,

To make her to hull and to try well, which is called a good Sea ship, there are two things principally to be regarded; the one, that she have a good draught of water; the other, that she be not overcharged: and this is seldome done in the Kings Ships, and therefore we are forced to lye, or try in them with our main Course and mizen, which with a deep keel and standing streak, she would perform,

The extreame length of a Ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floaty and want sharpness of way forward. And it is most true, that such over-long Ships are fitter for the narrow Seas in summer, then for the Ocean, or long voyages: and therefore an hundred foot by the Keel, and thirty five foot broad is a good proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships sharp before, not having a long floor, will fall rough into the Sea from a billow, and

M

take

take in water over head and ears; and the same quality have all narrow quartered Ships to sink after the tail. The high charging of Ships, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extream Lee-ward, makes them sink deep into the Seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oft times overfet. Safety is more to be respected than shews, or niceness for ease; in sea journeys, both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Masters Cabbin. Our Masters and Mariners will say, that the Ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary Mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rolling and tumbling from side to side where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high Charging. Besides those high Cabbin-works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great Guns be four foot clear above water when all lading is in, or
else

else these best pieces are idle at sea: for
if the Ports lie lower, and be open, it is
dangerous; and by that default was a
goodly Ship, and many gallant Gentle-
men lost, in the dayes of *Henry* the
Eight, before the lile of *Wight*, in a
Ship called by the name of *Mary-Rose*;

M *S*

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

PILGRIMAGE.

Give me my Scallop shell of Quiet,
 My Staff of Faith to walk upon;
 My Scrip of Ioy, immortal Diet;
 My Bottle of Salvation.

My Gown of Glory (Hopes true gage)

And thus I'll take my *Pilgrimage*.

Bloud must be my bodies only Balmer,

No other Balm will there be given,

Whil'st my Soul, like a quiet Palmer,

Travellerh towards the Land of Hea-

Over the silver Mountains, (ven

Where springs the Nectar Fountains,

There will I kiss the Bowl of Bliss.

And drink mine everlasting fill

Upon every Milken hill.

My Soul will be a dry before.

But after, it will thirst no more.

I'll take them first, to quench my thirst

And taste of Nectars suckets,

At those clear Wells,

Where sweetness dwells;

Drawn up by Saints in Crystal Buckets:

Then by that happy blestful day,

More peaceful Pilgrims I shall see,

That have cast off their rags of clay,

And walk apparelled fresh like me,

And when our Bottles and all we

Are fill'd with immortalities;

Then

Then the blessed Parts wee'l travel;
 Strow'd with Rubies thick as gravel,
 Sealings of Diamonds, Sapphire flowers,
 High walls of Coral, & pearly Bowers.
 From thence to Heavens bribeless Hall,
 Where no corrupted voices brawl,
 No Conscience molten into Gold,
 No forg'd Accuser bought or sold,
 No cause defer'd, no vain spent journey,
 For there *Christ* is the Kings Attorney,
 Who pleads for all without degrees,
 And he hath Angels, but no Fees.
 And when the twelve grandmillion Jury
 Of our sins, with direful fury,
 'Gainst our Souls black Verdicts give,
Christ pleads his Death, & then we live.
 Be thou my Speaker [taintless Pleader,
 Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder.]
 Thou wouldst Salvation even for Alms,
 Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
 And this is mine eternal Plea,
 To him that made Heaven, Earth & Sea,
 That since my flesh must die so soon,
 And want a Head to dine next noon.
 Just at the stroak when my veins start
 and spread.
 Set on my Soul an everlasting Head.
 Then am I ready, like a Palmer fit (write
 To tread those blest Paths which before I
 Of Death & Judgement, Heaven & Hell,
 Who oft doth think must needs dy wel.



Sir Walter Raleigh's

V E R S E S

Founded in his *Bible* in the
Gatehouse at Westminster.


EVEN such is time, which takes in trust
Our Youth, our Joys, & all we have,
And pays us nought but Age and Dust,
When in the dark and silent Grave :
When we have wandred all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days :
And from which grave & earth & dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

Sir W. RALEIGH

*On the Snuff of a Candle the
Night before he died.*

Towards fear to Dy, but courage shew
Rather then live in snuff, will be put out

Sir



Sir Walter Raleigh's

S P E E C H

*Immediately before he
was beheaded.*

UPon *Simon and Iudes* day, the
 Lieutenant of the *Tower* had
 a Warrant to bring his Pri-
 soner to the *Kings Bench* in
Westminster-hall, where the Attor-
 ney General demanded Execution,
 according to the Iudgement pronoun-
 ced against him at *Winchester*, the
 Lord Chief Iustice caused the Indict-
 ment, Verdict, and Iudgement to be
 read, and after asked him, what he
 could say, Why he should not die ac-
 cording to the Law: his answer was,
 That this fifteen years he had lived by
 the meer mercy of the King, and did
 now wonder how his mercy was turned
 into Iustice, he not knowing any thing
 wherein he had provoked his Maje-
 sties

ties displeasure, and did hope, that he was clear from that Iudgement by the Kings Commission in making him General of the Voyage to *Guiana*, for (as he conceived) the words, *To his trusty and well-beloved Subject*, &c. did in themselves imply a Pardon. But Master Attorney told him, these words were not sufficient for that purpose. Whereupon he desired the opinion of the Court, to which the Lord Chief Justice replied, it was no Pardon in Law.

Then began Sir *Walter Raleigh* to make a long discription of the Events and Ends of his Voyage, but he was interrupted by the Chief Justice, who told him, that it was not for any Offence committed there, but for his first fact that he was now called in question, and thereupon told him, That seeing he must prepare to die, he would not adde affliction to affliction, nor aggravate his fault, knowing him to be a man full of misery, but with the good *Samaritane* administer Oyl and Wine for the comfort of his distressed Soul. You have been a General, and a great Commander, imitate therefore that noble Captain, who thrusting himself

in.

into the midst of a Battel, cryed aloud, *Mors me exspectat, & ego Mortem exspectabo*, as you should not contemn so to do, nor should you fear death; the one sheweth too much boldness, the other no less cowardice. So with some other few instructions the Court arose, and Sir *Walter* was committed into the hands of the Sheriff of *Middlesex*, who presently conveyed him to the Gatehouse in *Westminster*.

Upon Thursday morning this Courageous, although Committed Knight, was brought before the Parliament-House, where there was a Scaffold erected for his Beheading: yet it was doubted over-night that he should be hanged, but it fell out otherwise. He had no sooner mounted the Scaffold, but with a chearful Countenance, and undaunted Look, he saluted the Company. His attire was a wrought night-cap, a Ruff-band, a hair-coloured Satin Doublet, with a black wrought Waste-coat under it, a pair of black cut Taffety Breeches, a pair of ash coloured Silk Stockings, and a wrought black Velvet Night gown; putting off his Hat, he directed his Speech to the Lords present, as followeth?

My

My Honourable Loras, and the rest of my good Friends, that come to see me die: Know, that I much rejoyce that it hath pleased God to bring me from darkness to light, and in freeing me from the Tower, wherein I might have died in disgrace, by letting me live to come to this place, where though I lose my life, yet I shall clear some false accusations, unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me a Testimony of a true heart, both to my King and Countrey.

Two things Sir W. Raleigh is accused of. Two things there are which have exceedingly possessed and provoked his Majesties indignation against me; viz: A Confede-

racy, or Combination with France, and disloyal and disobedient words of my Prince. For the first, his Majesty had some cause, though grounded upon a weak foundation, to suspect mine inclination to the French Faction; for not long before my departure from England the French Agent took occasion passing by my house, to visit me, had some conference, during the time of his abode, onely concerning my Voyage, and nothing else, I take God to witness.

Another suspicion is had of me, because I did labour to make an escape from Ply-

Plymouth to France, I cannot deny, but that willingly, when I heard a rumour, That there was no hope of my Life upon my return to London, I would have escaped for the safe guard of my Life, and not for any ill intent or conspiracie against the State.

The likereason of suspicion arose in that I perswaded Sir Lewis Steenkly, my Guardian, to flee with me from London to France, but my answer to this is, as to the other, That onely for my safe guard, and nought else was my intent, as I shall answer before the Almighty.

It is alledged, That I feigned my self sick, and by art made my body full of blisters when I was at Salisbury. True it is, I did so; the reason was, because I hoped thereby to defer my coming before the King and Council, and so by delaying, might have gained time to have got my Pardon. I have an example out of Scripture for my warrant, that in case of necessity, and for the safe guard of his life, David feigned himself foolish and mad, yet it was not imputed to him for sin.

Concerning the second Imputation laid to my charge, that I should speak scandalous and reproachfull words of my Prince, there is no witness against me but onely
one

264 Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech.

one, and he a Minical French-man, whom I entertained rather for his Iests then his Iudgement: this was to ineroach himself into the favour of the Lords, and gaping after some great reward, hath falsly accused me of seditious speeches against his Majesty; against whom, if I did either speak or think a thought hurtful or prejudicial, the Lord blot me out of the book of Life.

It is not a time to flatter or fear Princes, for I am a subject to none but Death, therefore have a charitable conceit of me. That I know to swear is an offence, to swear falsly at any time is a great sin, but to swear false before the presence of Almighty God, before whom I am forthwith to appear, were an offence unpardonable therefore think me not now rashly or untruly to confirm, or protest any thing.

As for other objections, in that I was brought per force into England, that I carried sixteen thousand pounds in money out of England with me, more then I made known; that I should receive Letters from the French King, and such like, with many Protections he utterly denied.

FINIS.

The
PREROGATIVE
Of
PARLIAMENTS
In
ENGLAND.

Proved
In a Dialogue between a
Councillour of State, and
a Justice of Peace.

By Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

Dedicated to the KINGS
most Excellent Majestie.

LONDON:

Printed for *William Sheares* at the Bible
in bedford street in Covent Gar-
den 1661.

PROLOGUE
OF
THE
F. A. M. E. N. T. S.

It is a dialogue between
a colored man and a
white man.

THE WHITE MAN

THE COLORED MAN

THE WHITE MAN
THE COLORED MAN



To the
K I N G

Most gracious Sovereign.

THose that are suppress
and helplisse are com-
monly silent, wishing
that the common ill in
all sort might be with their par-
ticular misfortunes: which dispo-
sition, as it is uncharitable in all
men, so would it be in me more
dogge-like then man-like, to bite
the stone that strooke me : (to
wit) the borrowed authority of
my Sovereigne misinformed, see-
ing their arms and hands that
flang it, are most of them al-
ready rotten. For I must con-
fesse it ever, that they are debts,
A 2 and

and not discontentments, that
your Majesty hath laid upon me;
the debts & obligation of a friend-
lesse adversity, farre more payable
in all kinds, then those of the
prosperous: All which, nor the
least of them, though I cannot
discharge, I may yet endeavour it.
And notwithstanding my restraint
hath retrenched all wayes, as well
the wayes of labour and will, as
of all other imployments, yet hath
it left with me my cogitations,
then which I have nothing else
to offer on the Altar of my Love.

Of those (most gracious so-
veraigne) I have used some part
in the following dispute, between
a Counsellour of Estate, and a
Justice of Peace, the one disswa-
ding, the other perswading the
calling of a Parliament. In all
which, since the Norman Con-
quest (at the least so many, as
Histories have gathered) I have
in some things in the following
Dialogue

that
on me;
riend-
yable
f the
r the
annot
ur it.
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e all
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gne

Dialogue presented your Majesty
with the contents and successes.

Some things there are and
those of the greatest, which be-
cause they ought to be resolved
on, I thought fit to range them in
the front of the rest, to the end
your Majesty may be pleased to
examine your own great and
Princely heart of their accep-
tance, or refusall.

The first is, that supposition, that
your Majesties Subjects give no-
thing but with adjunction
of their own interest, in-
terlacing in one and the
same act your Majesties reliefe,
their own liberties: not that your
Majesties piety was ever suspect-
ed, but because the best Princes
are ever the least jealous, your
Majesties judging others by your
self, who have abused your Ma-
jesties trust. The fear'd continu-
ance of the like abuse may per-
swade the provision. But this

cation, how ever it seemeth
at first sight, your Ma^{tie} shall
perceive by many examples
following but frivolous. The
bonds of Subjects to their Kings
should alwayes be wrought out of
Iron, the bonds of Kings unto
Subjects but with Cobwebs.

This it is (most renowned Sovere-
raigne) that this traffick of assu-
rances hath been often urged, of
which, if the Conditions had been
easie, our Kings have as easily kept
them; if hard and prejudiciall,
either to their honours or estates,
the Creditours have been paid
their debts with their own pre-
sumption.

For all binding of a King by
Law upon the advantage of his
necessity, makes the breach it self
lawful in a King, His Charters
and all other instruments being no
other then the surviving witnes-
ses of unconstrained will: Princeps

non

non subjicitur nisi sua voluntate libera, mero motu & certa Scientia: Necessary words in all the grants of a King witnessing that the same grants were given freely and knowingly.

The second resolution will rest in your Majesty, leaving the new impositions, all Monopolies, and other grievances of the people to the consideration of the House, Provided, that your Majesties revenue be not abated, which if your Majesty shall refuse, it is thought that the disputes will last long, and the issues will be doubtfull: And on the contrary if your Majesty vouchsafe it, it may perchance be stiled a yielding, which seemeth by the sound to brave the Regalty.

But (most excellent Prince) what other is it to th'eares of the Wise, but as the sound of a trumpet, having blasted forth a false Alarme, becomes but common

aire ? Shall the head yield to the feet ? certainly it ought, when they are grieved, for wisdom will rather regard the commodity, then object the disgrace, seeing if the feet lye in fetters, the head cannot be freed, and where the feet feele but their own paines, the head doth not only suffer by participation, but withall by consideration of the evill.

Certainly the point of honour well weighed bath nothing in it to even the ballance, for by your Majesties favour, your Majesty doth not yield either to any person or to any power, but to dispute only, in which the Proposition and Minor prove nothing without a conclusion, which no other person or power can make, but a Majesty : yea this in Henry the third his time was called a wisdom incomparable. For the King raised
again,

again, recovered his authority :
For, being in that extremity as
he was driven with the Queen
and his Children, Cum Abbati-
bus & Prioribus satis humilibus
hospitia quærere & prandia : For
the rest, may it please your Ma-
jesty to consider that there can no-
thing befall your Majesty in
matters of affaires more unfor-
tunately, then the Commons of
Parliament with ill successe : A
dishonour so perswasive and ad-
venturous as it will not onely find
arguments ; but it will take the
leading of all enemies that shall
offer themselves against your
Majesties estate.

Le Tabourin de la paurete ne
faiet poinct de breuct : of which
dangerous disease in Princes, the
remedy doth chiefly consist in the
love of the people, which how it
may be had & held, no man knowes
better then your Majesty ; how to

loose it, all men know, and know
that it is lost by nothing more
then by the defence of others in
wrong doing. The only motives of
mischances that ever come to
Kings of this Land since the
Conquest.

It is only love (most renowned
Soveraign) must prepare the way
for your Majesties following de-
sires. It is love which obeyes,
which suffers, which gives, which
stickes at nothing ; which Love,
as well of your Majesties people, as
the love of God to your Majesty,
that it may alwayes hold, shall be
the continuall prayers of your
Majesties most humble vassall,

Walter Raleigh.



The
PREROGATIVE
of
PARLIAMENTS
Proved in a dialogue between a
COUNSELLOUR

of
STATE,
and a
JUSTICE
of
PEACE

COUNSELLOUR.



OW Sir, what think you
of M. S. Johns tryall in
Star Chamber? I know
that the bruit ranne that
he was hardly dealt with-
all, because he was imprisoned in the
Tower, seeing his dissuasion from
granting a Benevolence to the King
was warranted by the Law.

JUSTICE. Surely Sir it was
made

made manifest at the hearing, that M. St. Iohn was rather in love with his own letter; he confessed he had seen your Lordships Letter, before hee wrote his to the Major of *Marleborough*, and in your Lordships letter, there was not a word whereto the Statutes by Mr. St. Iohn alleadged, had reference; for those Statutes did condemn the gathering of mony from the subject, under title of a free gift; whereas a fifth, a sixth, a tenth, &c. was set down and required. But my good Lord, though divers Shires have given to his Majestie, some more, some lesse, what is this to the Kings debt?

COUNS. Wee know it well enough, but we have many other projects.

IUST. Is it true my good Lord: but your Lordship will finde, that when by these you have drawn many petty summes from the subjects, and those somtimes spent as fast as they are gathered, his Majesty being nothing enabled thereby, when you shall be forced to demand your great aide, the Countrey will excuse it self in regard of their former payments.

COUNS. What mean you by the great aide.

IUST.

I u s t. I mean the aide of Parliam-
ment.

C o u n s. By Parliament, I would
fain know the man that durst perswade
the King unto it, for if it should suc-
ceed ill, in what case were he.

I u s t. You say well for your self
my Lord, and perchance you that are
lovers of your selves (under pardon)
do follow the advice of the late Duke
of *Alva*, who was ever opposite to all
resolutions in businesse of impor-
tance; for if the things enterprised
succeeded well, the advice never came
in question; if ill, (whereto great un-
dertakings are commonly subject) he
then made his advantage by remem-
bring his Countrey Councell: But
my good Lord, these reserved Politi-
tians are not the best servants, for he
that is bound to adventure his life for
his Master, is also bound to adventure
his advice, *Keep not back Councell* (saith
Ecclesiasticus) *when it may do good.*

C o u n s. But Sir, I speak it not in
other respect then I think it dange-
rous for the King to assemble the
three estates, for thereby have our for-
mer Kings alwayes lost somewhat of
their prerogatives. And because that you
shall not think that I speak it at ran-
dome,

dome; I will begin with elder times, wherein the first contention began betwixt the King of this land and their subjects in Parliament.

J u s T. Your Lordship shall do me a singular favour.

C o u n s. You know that the Kings of *England* had no formal Parliament till about the 18. year of *Hen.* the first. for in his 17 year for the marriage of his Daughter, the King raised a tax upon every hide of land by the advice of his privy Councell alone. But you may remember how the subjects soon after the establishment of this Parliament began to stand upon terms with the King, and drew from him by strong hand and the sword the great Charter.

I u s T. Your Lordships sayes well, they drew from the King the great Charter by the sword, and hereof the Parliament cannot be accused, but the Lords.

C o u n s. You say well; but it was after the establishment of the Parliament, and by colour of it, that they had so great daring, for before that time they could not endure to hear of *St. Edwards* lawes, but resisting the confirmation in all they could, although
by

by those lawes the Subjects of this
Iland were no lesse free then any of
all *Europe*.

Jus T. My good Lord, the reason is
manifest; for while the *Normans* and
others of the *French* that followed the
Conquerour made spoyle of the *En-
glish*, they would not endure that any
thing but the will of the Conquerour
should stand for Law: but after a di-
scient or two when themselves were
become *English*, and found themselves
beaten with their own rods, they then
began to favour the difference be-
tween subjection and slavery, and in-
sist upon the Law, *Meum & tuum*, and
to be able to say unto themselves, *hoc
fac & vives*: yea that the conquering
English in *Ireland* did the like, your
Lordship knowes it better than I.

Couns. I think you guesse a-
right: And to the end the subject may
know that being a Faithfull servant to
his Prince he might enjoy his own
life, and paying to his Prince what be-
longs to a Sovereaigne, the remainder
was his own to dispose. *Henry* the
first to content his vassals gave them
the great Charter, and the Charter of
Forrests.

Jus T. What reason then had
K.

K. Iohn to deny the confirmation.

C O U N S. He did not, but he on the contrary confirmed both the *Charters* with additions, and required the Pope whom he had then made his superior to strengthen him with a *golden Bull*.

I u s T. But your honour knowes, that it was not long, that he repented himself.

C O U N S. It is true, and he had reason so to do, for the Barons refused to follow him into France, as they ought to have done, and to say true, this *great Charter* upon which you insist somuch, was not originally granted Regally and freely; for *Henry* the first did usurpe the Kingdome, and therefore the better to assure himself against *Robert* his eldest Brother, he flattered the Nobility and people with those *Charters*. Yea *King Iohn* that confirmed them, had the like respect: for *Arthur* Duke of *Britain* was the undoubted heir of the Crown, upon whom *Iohn* usurped. And so to conclude, these *Charters* had their originall from Kings *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

I u s T. But *King Iohn* confirmed the *Charter* after the death of his Nephew *Arthur*, when he was then *Rex de jure* also.

C O U N S.

COUNS. It is true, for he durst do no other, standing accursed, whereby few or none obeyed him, for his Nobility refused to follow him into *Scotland*, and he had so grieved the people by pulling down all the Parke pales before harvest, to the end his Deere might spoil the corn; And by seizing the temporalities of so many Bishopricks into his hands, and chiefly for practising the death of the Duke of *Britain* his Nephew, as also having lost *Normandy* to the French, so as the hearts of all men were turned from him.

IUST. Nay by your favour my Lord, King *John* restored *K. Edwards* Lawes after his absolution, and wrote his letters in the 15 of his reigne to all Sheriffs countermanding all former oppressions, yea this he did notwithstanding the Lords refused to follow him into France.

COUNS. Pardon me, he did not restore King *Edwards* Lawes then, nor yet confirmed the Charters, but he promised upon his absolution to doe both: but after his return out of *France*. in his 16. year he denyed it, because without such a promise he had not obtained restitution, his promise

mise being constrained, and not voluntary.

J u s T. But what think you, was hee not bound in honour to performe it?

C o u n s. Certainly no, for it was determined, the case of King *Francis* the first of France, that all promises by him made, whilst he was in the hands of *Charles* the first his enemy, were void, by reason the Judge of honour, which tels us he durst doe no other.

J u s T. But King *John* was not in prison.

C o u n s. Yet for all that, restraint is imprisonment, yea, fear it self is imprisonment, and the King was subject to both: I know there is nothing more Kingly in a King than the performance of his word; but yet of a word freely and voluntarily given. Neither was the *Charter* of *Henry* the first so published, that all men might plead it for their advantage but a *Charter* was left (in *deposito*) in the hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for the time, and so to his successours. *Stephen Langthon*, who was ever a Traytor to the King, produced this *Charter*, and shewed it to the Barons, there.

thereby encouraging them to make war against the King. Neither was it the old *Charter* simply the Barons sought to have confirmed, but they presented unto the King other articles and orders, tending to the alteration of the whole common-wealth, which when the King refused to signe, the Barons presently put themselves into the field, & in rebellious and outrageous fashion sent the King word, except he confirmed them, they would not desist from making war against him, till he had satisfied them therein. And in conclusion, the King being betrayed of all his Nobility, in effect was forced to grant the *Charter of Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Forestis*, at such time as he was invironed with an Army in the Meadows of *Staynes*, which *Charters* being procured by force, Pope *Innocent* afterward disavowed, and threatned to curse the Barons if they submitted not themselves as they ought to their Sovereigne Lord, which when the Lords refused to obey, the King entertained an army of strangers for his own defence, where with having Mastered and beaten the Barons, they called in *Lewis of France* (a most unnaturall resolution) to be their

their King; Neither was *Magna Charta* a Law in the 19. of *Henry* the 2d. But simply a *Charter* which he confirmed in the 21 of his reigne, and made it a Law in the 25. according to *Littletons* opinion. Thus much for the beginning of the *Great Charter*, which had first an obscure birth from usurpation, and was secondly, fostered and shewed to the world by rebellion.

I u s r. I cannot deny but that all your Lordship hath said is true; but seeing the *Charters* were afterwards so many times confirmed by Parliament and made Lawes, and that there is nothing in them unequall or prejudicial to the King, doth not your Honour think it reason they should be observed?

C O U N s. Yes, and observed they are in all that the state of a King can permit, for no man is destroyed but by the Lawes of the land, no man disseized of his inheritance but by the Lawes of the land, imprisoned they are by the prerogative where the King hath cause to suspect their loyalty: for were it otherwise, the King should never come to the knowledge of any conspiracy or Treason against his Person or state, and being imprisoned, yet doth

doth not any man suffer death but by the Law of the land.

J u s T. But may it please your Lordship, were not *Cornewallis*, *Sharpe*, and *Hoskins* imprisoned, being no suspicion of Treason there?

C O u n s. They were; but it cost them nothing.

J u s T. And what got the King by it? for in the conclusion (besides the murmur of the people) *Cornewallis*, *Sharpe* and *Hoskins* having greatly overshot themselves, and repented them, a fine of 5 or 600l. was laid on his Majesty for their offences, for so much their diet cost his Majesty.

C O u n s. I know who gave the advice, sure I am that it was none of mine: But thus I say, if you consult your memory, you shall find that those Kings which did in their own times confirme the *Magna Charta*, did not only imprison, but they caused of their Nobilitie and others to be slain without hearing or tryall.

J u s T. My good Lord, if you will give me leave to speak freely, I say, that they are not well advised that perswade the King not to admit the *Magna Charta* with the former reservations: For as the King can never lose a

far-

a farthing by it as I shall prove anon: So except *England* were as *Naples* is, and kept by Garrisons of another Nation, it is impossible for a King of *England* to greaten and enrich himself by any way so assuredly, as by the love of his people: For by one rebellion the King hath more losse then by a hundred years observance of *Magna Charta*. For therein have our Kings been forced to compound with Rogues and Rebels, and to pardon them, yea the state of the King, the Monarchie, the Nobility have been endangered by them.

C O U N S. Well Sir, let that passe, why should not our Kings raise money as the Kings of *France* do by their letters and Edicts onely? for since the time of *Lewis* the 11. of whom it is said, that he freed the French Kings of their wardship; the French Kings have seldome assembled the states for any contribution.

J U S T. I will tell you why: the strength of *England* doth consist of the people and Yeomantry, the *Pesants* of *France* have no courage nor armes: In *France* every Village and Burrough hath a castle, which the French call *Chasteau Villain*, every good City hath

a good Cittadell, the King hath the Regiments of his guardes and his men at armes alwayes in pay; yea the Nobility of *France* in whom the strength of *France* consists, doe alwayes assist the King in these leavies, because themselves being free, they made the same leavies upon their Tennants. But my Lord, if you marke it, *France* was never free in effect from civill wars, and lately it was endangered either to be conquered by the Spaniard or to be cantonized by the rebellious French themselves, since that freedom of Wardship. But my good Lord, to leave this digression, that wherein I would willingly satisfie your Lordship, is, that the Kings of *England* have never received losse by Parliament, or prejudice.

COUNS. No Sir, you shall find that the subjects in Parliament have decreed great things to the disadvantage and dishonour of our Kings in former times.

IUST. My good Lord, to avoide confusion, I will make a short repitition of them all, & then your Lordship may object where you see cause; And I doubt not but to give your Lordship satisfaction. In the six year of
Henry

Henry the 3d there was no dispute, the house gave the King two shillings of every plough'd land within *England*, and in the end of the same year he had *escuage* payed him (to wit) for every Knights fee two marks in silver. In the fifth year of that King, the Lords demaunded the confirmation of the *Great Charter* which the Kings Council for that time present excused, alleadging that those priviledges, were extorted by force during the Kings Minority, and yet the King was pleased to send forth his writ to the Sheriffes of every Countrey, requiring them to certifie what those liberties were, and how used, and in exchange of the Lords demaund, because they pressed him so violently, the King required all the castles and places which the Lords held of his, and had held in time of his Father, with those Mannors and Lordships which they had heretofore wrested from the Crown, which at that time (the King being provided of forces) they durst not deny. In the 14 year he had the 15 peny of all goods given him, upon condition to confirme the *Great Charter*: For by reason of the Wars in *France*, and the losse of *Re-*
chell,

chell, he was then enforced to consent to the Lords in all they demanded. In the tenth of his reigne he fined the City of London at 50000. marks, because they had received Lewis of France. In the 11. year in the Parliament at Oxford, he revoked the great Charter, being granted when he was under age, and governed by the Earle of Pembroke and the Bishop of Winchester. In this 11. year the Earles of Cornwall and Chester, Marshall, Edward Earle of Pembroke, Gilbert Earle of Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrers, and Warwick, and others rebelled against the King, and constrained him to yeeld unto them in what they demanded for their particular interest, which rebellion being appeased, he sayled into France, and in his 15 year he had a 15th of the temporality, and a disme and a halfe of the spirituality, and withall escuage of every Knights fee.

COUNS. But what say you to the Parliament of Westminster in the 16th. of the King, where notwithstanding the wars of France and his great charge in repulssing the Welsh rebels, he was flatly denied the Subsidy demanded.

I. u. r. I confesse, my Lord, that

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the house excused themselves by reason of their poverty, and the Lords taking of Armes ; in the next year it was manifest that the house was practised against the King : And was it not so, my good Lord, think you in our two last Parliaments, for in the first even those whom his Majesty trusted most, betrayed him in the union, and in the second there were other of the great ones ran counter. But your Lordship spake of dangers of Parliaments, in this, my Lord, there was a denial; but there was no danger at all : but to returne where I left, what got the Lords by practizing the house at that time? I say that those that brake this Staffe upon the King, were overturned with the counterbuffle, for he resumed all those lands which he had given in his minority: he called all his exacting officers to accompt, he found them all faulty, he examined the corruption of other Magistrates, and from all these he drew sufficient money to satisfie his present necessity ; whereby he not only spared his people, but highly contented them with an act of so great Iustice : Yea Hubert Earle of Kent, the cheif Iustice whom he had most trusted, and most advanced

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ced, was found as false to the King as any one of the rest. And for conclusion, in the end of that year at the assembly of the States at *Lambeth*, the King had the fortieth part of every mans goods given him freely toward his debts: for the people, who the same year had refused to give the King any thing, when they saw he had squeased those sponges of the Common-wealth; they willingly yielded to give him satisfaction.

COUNS. But I pray you what became of this *Hubert*, whom the King had favoured above all men, betraying his Majesty as he did.

IUST. There were many that perswaded the King to put him to death, but he could not be drawn to consent, but the King seized upon his estate which was great; yet in the end he left him a sufficient portion, and gave him his life, because he had done great service in former times: For his Majesty, though he tooke advantage of his vice; yet he forgot not to have consideration of his virtue. And upon this occasion it was that the King, betrayed by those whom he most trusted, entertained strangers, and gave them their offices and the charge of his

his Castles and strong places in England.

COUNS. But the drawing in of those strangers was the cause that Marshall Earle of Pembroke moved war against the King.

JUST. It is true, my good Lord, but he was soon after slain in Ireland, and his whole masculine race, ten years extinguished, though there were five Sons of them, and Marshall being dead, who was the mover and ring-leader of that war, the King pardoned the rest of the Lords that had assisted Marshall.

COUNS. What reason had the King so to doe?

JUST. Because he was perswaded that they loved his person, and only hated those corrupt Counsellors, that then bear the greatest sway under him, as also because they were the best men of war he had, whom if he destroyed, having war with the French he had wanted Commanders to have served him.

COUNS. But what reason had the Lords to take armes?

JUST. Because the King entertained the Poitouvins, were not they the Kings vassals also? Should the

the Spaniards rebell, because the Spanish King trusts to the Neapolitans, Portugues, Millanoes, and other Nations his vassals, seeing those that are governed by the Vice-royes and deputies, are in pollicy to be well entertained & to be employed, who would otherwise devise how to free themselves; whereas, being trusted and imployed by their Prince, they entertain themselves with the hopes that other the Kings vassals do, if the King had called in the Spaniards, or other Nations, not his Subjects, the Nobilitie of England had reason of grief.

COUNS. But what people did ever serve the King of England more faithfully then the Gascoignes did, even to the last of the conquest of that Dutchie;

J u s t. Your Lordship sayes well, and I am of that opinion, that if it had pleased the Queen of England to have drawn some of the chief of the Irish Nobilitie into England & by exchange to have made them good free-holders in England she had saved above 2. millions of pounds, which were consumed in times of those Rebellions. For what held the great Gascoigne firm to the

Crown of *England* (of whom the Duke of *Espernon* married the Inheretrix) but his Earledome of *Kendall* in *England*, whereof the Duke of *Espernon* (in right of his Wife) beares the Title to this day: And to the same end I take it, hath *James* our Sovereign Lord given Lands to divers of the Nobilitie of *Scotland*: And if I were worthy to advise your Lordship, I should think, that your Lordship should doe the King great service, to put him in mind to prohibite all the *Scottish* Nation to alienate and sell away their inheritance here; for they selling, they not only give cause to the *English* to complain, that the Treasure of *England* is transported into *Scotland*; but his Majestie is thereby also frustrated of making both Nations one; and of assuring the service and obedience of the *Scots* in future.

COUNS. You say well, for though those of *Scotland* that are advanced & entiched by the Kings Majesties will, no doubt serve him faithfully, yet how their heires and successors, having no inheritance to lose in *England*, may be seduced, is uncertain. But let us go on with our Parliament. And what say you to the denyall, in the

1st. year of his raigne, even when the King was invited to come into France by the Earle of March, who had married his Mother, and who promised to assist the King in the conquest of many places lost?

I u s T: It is true my good Lord, that a subsidie was then denied, and the reasons are delivered in *English Histories*, and indeed the King not long before had spent much Treasure in aiding the Duke of Britaine to no purpose; for he drew over the King but to draw on good conditions for himself, as the Earle of March his father in law now did: As the *English* Barons did invite *Lewes* of France not long before, as in elder times all the Kings and States had done, and in late yeares the Leaguers of France entertained the *Spaniards*, and the *French* Protestants and Netherlands, Queen *Elizabeth*, not with any purpose to greaten those that aide them, but to purchase to themselves an advantageous peace. But what say the Histories to this denyall? They say, with a world of payments there mentioned, that the King had drawn the Nobility drie. And besides, that whereas not long before great summes of money

ney where given, & the same appointed to be kept in four Castles, and not to be expended but by the advice of the Peeres; it was believed, that the same Treasure was yet unspent.

COUNS. Good Sir you have said enough; judge you whether it were not a dishonor to the King to be so tyed, as not to expend his Treasure but by other mens advice, as it were by their licence.

IUST. Surely, my Lord, the King was well advised to take the money upon any occasion, and they were fooles that propounded the restraint; for it doth not appear, that the King took any great heed to those overseers: *Kings are bound by their p^{er}ie and by no other obligation.* In Queen *Maries* time, when it was thought that shee was with Child, it was propounded in Parliament, that the rule of the Realme should be given to King *Philip*, during the minority of the hoped Prince or Princessse; and the King offered his assurance in great summes of money, to relinquish the Government at such time as the Prince or Princessse should be of age: At which motion, when all else where silent in the House.
Lord

Lord Dacres (who was none of the wisest) asked who shall sue the King's Bonds? which ended the dispute, (for what other Bond is between a King and his vassals, then the Bond of the Kings Faith?) But my good Lord, the King, notwithstanding the denyall at that time, was with gifts from particular persons, and otherwise, supplied for proceeding of his journey for that time into France; he took with him 30 Caskes filled with Silver and Coyne, which was a great Treasure in those dayes. And lastly, notwithstanding the first denial, in the Kings absence he had Escuage granted him (to wit) 26 s. of every Knights Fee.

C O U N S. What say you then to the 28th year of that King, in which when the King demanded reliefe, the States would not consent, except the famed former order had bin taken for the appointing of 4 overseers for the treasure; as also that the Lord chief Justice and the L. Chancellor should be chosen by the States, with some Barons of the Exchequer and other officers.

ANS. My good Lord, admit the King had yielded their demands, then.

then whatsoever had been ordained by those Magistrates to the dislike of the Common-wealth, the people had been without remedie, whereas while the King made them, they had their appeal and other remedies. But those demands vanished, and in the end the King had escuage given him, without any of their conditions. It is an excellent virtue in a King to have patience, and to give way to the furie of mens passions. The Whale when he is stricken by the fisherman, growes in to that furie, that he cannot be resisted: but will overthrow all the ships and Barkes that come into his way; but when he hath tumbled a while, he is drawn to the shore with atwined thred.

COUNS. What say you then to the Parliament in the 29th of that King.

Jus T. I say, that the Commons being unable to pay, the King relieves himself upon the richer sort: and so it likewise happened in the 33rd of that King, in which he was relieved chiefly by the Citie of London. But, my good Lord, in the Parliament in London in the 38th. year, he had given him the tenth of all the revenues of the Church

Church for 3 years, and three marks of every Knights Fee throughout the Kingdome, upon his promise and oath upon the observing of *Magna charta*, but in the end of the same year, the King being then in *France*, he was denied the aides which he required. What is this to the danger of a Parliament? especially at this time they had reason to refuse, they had given so great a summe in the beginning of the same year. And again, because it was known that the King had but pretended war with the King of *Castile*, with whom he had secretly contracted an alliance, and concluded a Marriage betwixt his Son *Edward* and the Lady *Elenor*. These false fires do but fright Children, and it commonly falls out, that when the cause given is known to be false, the necessitie pretended is thought to be fained. Royall dealing hath evermore Royall successe: and as the King was denied in the eight and thirtieth year, so was he denied in the nine and thirtieth year, because the Nobilitie and the people saw it plainly, that the King was abused by the Pope, who as well in despite to *Manfred* bastard Son to the Emperour *Frederick* the second: as to

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couzen the King and to waste him, would needs bestow on the King the Kingdome of *Sicily*; to recover which the King sent all the Treasure he could borrow or scrape to the Pope, and withall gave him letters of credence, for to take up what he could in *Italy*, the King binding himself for the payment. Now, my good Lord, the wisdom of Princes is seen in nothing more then in their enterprises. So how unpleasing it was to the State of *England* to consume the Treasure of the Land, and in the conquest of *Sicily* so far off, and otherwise, for that the *English* had lost *Normandie* under their noses, and so many goodly parts of *France*, of their own proper inheritances: the reason of the denyall is as well to be considered as the denyall.

COUNS. Was not the King also denied a Subsidie in the fortie first of his reigne?

I u s r. No, my Lord: for although the King required mony as before, for the impossible conquest of *Sicily*, yet the House offered to give 52000 marks, which whether he refused or accepted, is uncertain: and whilst the King dreamed of *Sicily*, the *Welsh* invaded

invaded and spoyled the borders of England ; for in the Parliament of London, when the King urged the House for the prosecuting the conquest of Sicily, the Lords utterly disliking the attempt, urged the prosecuting of the Welshmen : which Parliament being proroged did again assemble at Oxford, and was called the mad Parliament, which was no other then an assembly of rebels, for the royal assent of the King which gives life to all Lawes, form'd by the three estates, was not a royall assent, when both the King and the Prince were constrained to yield to the Lotds. A constrained consent is the consent of a Captive and not of a King and therefore there was nothing done there either legally or royally. For if it be not properly a Parliament where the subject is not free, certainly it can be none where the King is bound, for all Kingly rule was taken from the King, and twelve Peers appointed ; and as some Writers have it 24. Peeres, to govern the Realme, and therefore the assembly made by *Jack Straw* and other rebels may aswell be called a Parliament as that of Oxford. *Principis nomen habere, non est esse princeps,* for

for there by was the K. driven not only to compound all quarrels with the French, but to have meanes to be revenged on the rebell Lords : but he quitted his right to *Normandy, Anjou and Mayne,*

C O U N S. But Sir, what needed this extremity, seeing the Lords required but the confirmation of the former Charter, which was not prejudiciall to the King to grant?

J U S T. Yes my good Lord, but they insulted upon the King, and would not suffer him to enter into his own Castles, they put down the Purveyor of the meat for the maintenance of his house : as if the King had been a bankrupt, and gave order that without ready money he should not take up a Chicken. And though there is nothing against the royalty of a King in these Charters (the Kings of England being Kings of freemen and not of slaves) yet it is so contrary to the nature of a King to be forced even to those things which may be to his advantage, as the King had some reason to seek the dispensation of his oath from the Pope, and to draw in strangers for his own defence : yea *jure salvo Coronæ nostræ* is intended in clusi-

clusively in all oathes and promises
extracted from a Sovereign,

COUNS. But you cannot be ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to call in other Nations both for the spoil they make, as also, because they have often held the possession of the best places with which they have been trusted.

JUR. It is true my good Lord, that there is nothing so dangerous for a King as to be constrained and held as a prisoner to his vassals, for by that, *Edward the second*, and *Richard the second* lost their Kingdomes and their lives. And for calling in of strangers, was not King *Edward the sixth* driven to call in strangers against the Rebels in *Norfolke*, *Cornwall*, *Oxfordshire* and elsewhere? Have not the Kings of Scotland been oftentimes constrained to entertain strangers against the Kings of England? And the King of England at this time had he not been diverse times assisted by the Kings of Scotland had, bin endangered to have been expelled forever.

COUNS. But yet you know those Kings were deposed by Parliament.

JUR. Yea my good Lord being Prisoners, being out of possession, and
being

being in their hands that were Princes of the bloud and pretenders. It is an old Countrey Proverbe, (that *Might overcomes Right*) a weak title that weares a strong sword, commonly prevailes against a strong title that weares but a weak one, otherwise Philip the second had never been Duke of Portugall, nor Duke of Millayne, nor King of Naples & Sicily. But good Lord, *Errores non sunt trahendi in exemplum*. I speak of regall, peaceable, and lawfull Parliaments. The King at this time was but a King in name, for Gloucester, Leicester and Chichester made choice of other Nine, to whom the rule of the Realme was committed, and the Prince was forced to purchase his liberty from the Earle of Deicester, by giving for his ransome the Countrey Pallatine of Chester. But my Lord let us judge of these occasions by their events, what became of this proud Earle? was he not soon after slain in Evesham? was he not left naked in the field, and left a shamefull spectacle, his head being cut off from his shoulders, his prime parts from his body, and laid on each side of his nose? And did not God extinguish his race after which in a lawfull Parliament

liament at Westminster (confirmed in a following Parliament of Westminster) were not all the Lords that followed Leycester disinherited? And when that fool Gloucester after the death of Leycester (whom he had formerly forsaken) made himself the head of a second Rebellion, and called in strangers, for which not long before he had cried out against the King, was not he in the end, after that he had seen the slaughter of so many of the Barons, the spoil of their Castles, and Lordships, constrained to submit himself, as all the survivors did, of which they that sped best, payed their fines and ransomes, the King reserving his younger Son, the Earledomes of Leycester and Derby.

COUNS. Well Sir, we have disputed this King to the grave, though it be true, that he out-lived all his enemies, and brought them to confusion, yet those examples did not terrifie their successors, but the Earle Marshall, and Hereford, threatned King Edward the first, with a new War.

JUR. They did so, but after the death of Hereford, the Earle Marshall repented himself, and to gain the Kings favour, he made him heir
of

of all his Lands. But what is this to the Parliament? for there was never King of this land had more given him for the time of his reign, then *Edward* the Son of *Henry* the third had.

C O U N S. How doth that appear?

J u s T. In this sort my good Lord, in this Kings third year he had given him the fifteenth part of all goods. In his sixth year a twentyeth. In his twelfth year a twentyeth, in his fourteenth year he had escuage (to wit) forty shillings of every Knights Fee, in his eighteenth year he had the eleventh part of all moveable goods within the Kingdome, in his nineteenth year the tenth part of all Church livings in England, Scotland and Ireland for six years, by agreement from the Pope in his three and twentieth year he raised a taxe upon Wool and fells, and on a day caused all the religious houses to be searched, and all the treasure in them to be seized and brought to his coffers, excusing himself by laying the fault upon his Treasurer: he had also in the end of the same year, of all goods of all Burgeses, and of the Commons the 10th part, in the 25th year of the Parliament of St. Edmundsbury, he had an 18th part of the goods

goods of the Burgesles, and of the people in generall, the tenth part. He had also the same year by putting the Clergie out of his protection a fifth part of their goods, and in the same year he set a great taxe upon Wools, to wit from half a marke to 40 s. upon every sack, whereupon the Earle Marshall, and the Earle of Hereford refusing to attend the King to *Flanders*, pretended the grievances of the people. But in the end the King having pardoned them, and confirmed the great Charter, he had the ninth penny of all goods from the Lords & Commons of the Clergie, in the South he had the tenth penny, and in the North the fift penny. In the two and thirtyeth year he had a subsidy freely granted. In the three and thirtieth year he confirmed the great Charter of his own Royall disposition, and the states to shew their thankfullnesse, gave the King for one year, the fift part of all the revenues of the land, and of the Citizens the sixt part of their goods. And in the same year the King used the inquisition called *Traile Baston*. By which all Justices and other Magistrates were grievously fined that had used extortion

tion or bribery, or had otherwise misdemeaned themselves to the great contentation of the people. This Commission likewise did enquire of entrudors, barators, and all other the like virmine, whereby the King gathered a great masse of treasure with a great deal of love. Now for the whole raigne of this King, who governed *England* 35 years, there was not any Parliament to his prejudice.

COUNS. But there was taking of armes by *Marshall* and *Hereford*.

JUST. That's true, but why was that? because the King, notwithstanding all that was given him by Parliament, did lay the greatest taxes that ever King did without their consent. But what lost the King by those Lords? one of them gave the King all his lands and the other dyed in disgrace.

COUNS. But what say you to the Parliament in *Edward* the Second's time his successor: did not the house of Parliament banish *Peirce Gaveston* whom the King favoured?

JUST. But what was this *Gaveston* but an Esquier of *Gascoigne*, formerly banisht the Realme by King *Edward* the first, for corrupting the Prince *Edward*, now rainging. And the whole King-

Kingdome fearing and detesting his
venemous disposition, they besought
His Majestie to cast him off, which the
King performed by an Act of his own,
and not by Act of Parliament, yea
Gavestones own father in Law, the
Earl of Gloucester, was one of the chief-
est of the Lords that procured it. And
yet finding the Kings affection to fol-
low him so strongly, they all consent-
ed to have him recalled. After which
when his credit so encreased, that he
despised and set at naught all the an-
cient Nobility, and not onley per-
swaded the King to all manner of
outrages and riots, but withall tran-
sporting what he listed of the Kings
Treasure, and Jewels: the Lords ur-
ged his banishment the second time,
but neither was the first nor second
banishment forced by Act of Parlia-
ment, but by the forceable Lords his
Enemies. Lastly he being recalled by
the King, the Earl of Lancaster caused
his head to be stricken off, when those
of his party had taken him prisoner.
By which presumptuous act, the Earl
and the rest of his company commit-
ted Treason and murder: Treason by
raising an Army without warrant,
murder by taking away the life of the
Kings

Kings subjects. After which *Gaveston* being dead, the *Spencers* got possession of the Kings favour, though the younger of them was placed about the King, by the Lords themselves.

C O U N S. What say you then to the Parliament held at London about the Sixt year of that King.

J u s T. I say that the King was not bound to perform the acts of this Parliament, because the Lords being too strong for the King, inforced his consent, for these be the words of our own History. *They wrested too much beyond the bounds of reason.*

C O U N S. What say you to the Parliaments of the White wands in the 13th of the King.

J u s T. I say the Lords that were so moved, came with an Army, and by strong hand surprized the King, they constrained, (saith the story) the rest of the Lords, and compelled many of the Bishops to consent unto them, yea it saith further, that the King durst not but grant to all that they required, (to wit) for the banishment of the *Spencers*. Yea they were so insolent that they refused to lodge the Queen comming through *Kent* in the Castle of *Leedes*, and sent her to provide

provide her lodging where she could get it so late in the night, for which notwithstanding some that kept her out were soon after taken and hang'd; and therefore your Lordship cannot call this a Parliament for the reasons before alleadged. But my Lord what became of these Lawgivers to the King, even when they were greatest, a Knight of the North called *Andrew Herkeley*, assembled the forces of the Country, overthrew them and their Army, slew the Earle of *Hereford*, and other Barons, took their generall *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, the Kings cozen-germane at that time possessed of five Earledomes, the Lords *Clifford*, *Talbot*, *Moubray*, *Maudint*, *Willington*, *Warren*, Lord *Darcy*, *Withers*, *Knevill*, *Leybourne*, *Bekes*, *Lovell*, *Fitzwilliams*, *Watervild*, and divers other Barons, Knights and Esquires, and soon after the Lord *Percy*, and the Lord *Warren* took the Lords *Baldsemere*, and the Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Teis*, *Gifford*, *Tucher*, and many others that fled from the battaile, the Most of which past under the hands of the hangman, for constraining the King under colour and name of a Parliament. But this your good Lordship may judge, to whom

whom, those tumultuous assemblies (which our Histories, falsly call Parliaments have been dangerous, the King in the end ever prevailed, and the Lords lost their lives, and estates. After which the *Spencers* in their banishment at *York*, in the 15th, of the King, were restored to there honors and estates, & therein the King had a subsidy given him the sixt penny of goods throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*.

COUNS. Yet you see the *Spencers* were soon after dissolved.

IUST. It is true my Lord, but that is nothing to our subject of Parliament, they may thank their own insolencie, for they branded and despised the Queen, whom they ought to have honored as the Kings wife; they were also exceeding greedy, and built themselves upon other mens ruines; they were ambitious and exceeding malicious, whereupon that came, that when Chamberlain *Spencer* was hang'd in *Hereford*, a part of the 24th Psalm was written over his head: *Quid gloriaris in malitia potens?*

COUNS. Well Sir, you have all this while excused your self upon the strength and rebellions of the Lords, but

but what say you now to King *Edward* the third, in whose time (and during the time of this victorious King, no man durst take Armes or rebell) the three estates did him the greatest affront that ever King received or endured, therefore I conclude where I began, that these Parliaments are dangerous for a King.

J. U. T. To answer your Lordship in order, may it please you first to call to mind, what was given this great King by his subjects before the dispute betwixt him and the house happened, which was in his latter dayes, from his first year to his fift year there was nothing given the King by his Subjects. In his eight year at the Parliament at *London* a tenth and a fifteenth was granted. In his tenth year he ceased upon the *Italians* goods here in *England* to his own use, with all the goods of the *Monkes* *Cluniackes* and others, of the order of the *Cisterians*. In the eleaventh year, he had given him by the Parliament a notable relief, the one half of the *Wools* throughout *England*, and of the *Clergy* all their *Woolls*, after which, in the end of the year he had granted in his Parliament at *Westmin-*

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ster, forty shillings upon every sack of Wooll, and for every 30 woollfells forty shillings, for every last of leather, as much, and for all other merchandizes after the same rate. The King promising that this years gathering ended, he would thenceforth content himself with the old customs he had over and above this great aide the eight part of all goods of all Citizens and Burgessees; and of other, and of forreigne Merchants, and such as lived not of the gain of breeding of sheep and cattell the fifteenth of their goods. Nay my Lord, this was not all, though more then ever was granted to any King, for the same Parliament bestowed on the King the ninth sheaf of all the corn within the Land, the ninth fleece, and the ninth lamb for two years next following; now what think your Lordship of this Parliament.

COUNS. I say they were honest men.

IUS. And I say, the people are as loving to their King now, as ever they were, if they be honestly and wisely dealt withall, and so his Majesty hath found them in his last two Parliaments, if his Majestie had not

been

been betrayed by those whom he most trusted.

COUNS. But I pray you Sir, who shall a King trust, if he may not trust those whom he hath so greatly advanced?

JUR. I will tell your Lordship whom the King may trust.

COUNS. Who are they?

JUR. His own reason, and his own excellent Iudgement which have not deceived him in any thing, wherein his Majesty hath been pleased to exercise them, Take Councell of thine heart (saith the book of Wisedome) for there is none more faithfull unto thee than it.

COUNS. It is true, but his Majesty found that those wanted no judgement whom he trusted, and how could his Majestie divine of their honesties?

JUR. Will you pardon me if I speak freely, for if I speak out of love, which (as Salomon saith) covereth all trespasses, The truth is, that his Majestie would never believe any man that spake against them, and they knew it well enough, which gave them boldnesse to do what they did.

COUNS. What was that?

JUR. Even, my good Lord, to

ruine the Kings estate so far as the state of so great a King may be ruin'd by men ambitious and greedy without proportion. It had been a brave increase of revenue, my Lord, to have rayssed 50000l. land of the Kings to 20000l. revenue, and to raise the revenue of wards to 20000l. more 40000l. added to the rest of his Majesties estate, had so enabled his Majesty, as he could never have wanted. And my good Lord, it had been an honest service to the King, to have added 7000 l. lands of the Lord Cobhams, his Woods & goods being worth 30000 l. more.

COUNS. I know not the reason why it was done.

JUST. Neither doth your Lordship, perchance know the reason why the 10000 l. offer'd by *Switzerland* for a fine of the *French* wines, was by the then Lord Treasurer conferr'd on *Devonshire* and his *Mistress*.

COUNS. What mov'd the Treasurer to reject and crosse that raising of the Kings lands?

JUST. The reason, my good Lord, is manifest, for had the land been rayssed, then had the King known when he had given or exchanged lands

what

what he had given or exchanged.

C O U N S. What hurt had been to the Treasurer whose Office is truly to inform the King of the value of all that he giveth?

J U S T. So he did, when it did not concerne himself nor his paticular, for he could never admit any one peece of a good Mannor to passe in my Lord *Aubignes* book of 1000l. land, till he himself had bought, and then all the remaining flowers of the Crowne were culled out. Now, had the Treasurer suffer'd the Kings lands to have been raised, how could his Lordship have made choice of the old rents, as well in that book of my Lord *Aubigne*, as in exchange of *Theobalds*, for which he took *Hatfeild* in it, which the greatest subject, or favorite Queen *Elizabeth* had never durst have named unto her by way of gift or exchange. Nay my Lord, so many other goodly Mannors have passed from his Majestie, as the very heart of the Kingdome mourneth to remember it, and the eyes of the Kingdome shedde tears continually at the beholding it: yea the soul of the Kingdome is heavy unto death with the consideration thereof, that so

magnanimous a Prince should suffer himself to be so abused.

COUNS. But Sir you know that *Cobham's* lands were entayled upon his *Cozens*.

IUST. Yea my Lord, but during the lives and times of *George Brooke* his children, it had been the Kings, that is to say, for ever in effect, but to wrest the King, and to draw the inheritance upon himself, he perswaded his Majestie to relinquish his interest for a pretty summe of money; and that there might be no counterworking, he sent *Brook* 6000 l. to make friends, whereof *Lord Hunt* had 2000 l. back again, *Burkewist* and *Barwick* had the other 4000 l. and the Treasurers and his heirs the masse of land for ever.

COUNS. What then I pray you came to the King by this confiscation.

IUST. My Lord, the Kings Majestie by all those goodly possessions, Woods and goods looſeth 500 l. by the year which he giveth in pension to *Cobham*, to maintain him in prison.

COUNS. Certainly, even in conscience they should have reserved so much of the land in the Crown, as to have

have given Cobham meat and apparell,
and not made themselves so great
gainers, and the King 500 l. (*per an-*
num) looser by the bargain, but it's
past: *Consilium non est eorum quæ fieri*
nequeunt.

I u s r. Take the rest of the Sen-
tence, my Lord: *Sed consilium versa-*
tur in iis quæ sunt in nostra potestate. It is
yet, my good Lord, in potestate Re-
gis, to right himself. But this is not
all my Lord; And I fear me, know-
ing your Lordships love to the King,
it would put you in a feaver to hear
all, I will therefore go on with my
Parliaments.

COUNS. I pray do so, and a-
mongst the rest, I pray you what say
you to the Parliament holden at Lon-
don in the fifteenth year of King Ed-
ward the third;

I u s r. I say there was nothing con-
cluded therein to the prejudice of the
King. It is true, that a little before
the sitting of the house, the King dis-
placed his Chancellour and his Treas-
urer, and most of all his Iudges and
Officers of the Exchequer, and com-
mitted many of them to prison, be-
cause they did not supply him with
money, being beyond the Seas, for the

the rest, the States assembled, besought the King that the Lawes of the two Charters might be observed, and that the great Officers of the Crowne might be chosen by Parliament.

COUNS. But what successe had these petitions,

IUST. The Charters were observed, as before, and so they will be ever, and the other petition was not rejected, the King being pleas'd, notwithstanding, that the great Officers, should take an oath in Parliament to do Justice. Now for the Parliament of *Westminster* in the 17th year of the King, the King had three markes and a half for every sack of Wooll, transported; and in his 18th. he had a 10th of the Clergie, and a 15th of the Laity for one year. His Majestie forbore after this to charge his Subjects with any more payments, untill the 29th of his reigne, when there was given the King by Parliament 50 for every sack of Wooll transported for six years, by which grant, the King received a thousand markes a day, a greater matter then a thousand pounds in these dayes, and a 1000l. a day amounts to 365000 l. a year, which was one of the greatest presents

presents that ever was given to a King of this land. For besides the cheapnesse of all things in that age, the Kings souldiers had but 3d. a day wages, a man at armes 6d. a Knight but 2s. In the Parliament at Westminster, in the 33th year he had 26s. 8d. for every sack of Wooll transported, and in the 42th year 3 dismes and 3 fifteenes. In his 45th year he had 50000l. of the Laity, and because the Spirituality disputed it, and did not pay so much the King chang'd his Chancellour, Treasurer, & Privy Seal being Bishops and placed Lay men in their roome.

C O U N S. It seems that in those dayes the Kings were no longer in love with their great Chancellors, then when they deserved well of them.

J U S T. No my Lord, they were not, and that was the reason they were well served, and it was the custome then, and in many ages after, to change the Treasurer & the Chancellour every 3 years, and withall to hear all mens complaints against them.

C O U N S. But by this often change, the saying is verified, that there is no inheritance in the favour of Kings. *He that keepeth the figge tree (saith Solomon) shall eat the fruit thereof;*

C s,

for

for reason it is that the servant live by the Master.

I u s T. My Lord, you say well in both, but had the subject an inheritance in the Princes favour, where the Prince hath no inheritance in the Subjects fidelity, then were Kings in more unhappy estate then common persons: for the rest, Solomon meaneth not, that he that *keepeth the figge tree* should surfet, though he meant he should eat, he meant not he should break the branches in gathering the figs, or eat the ripe, and leave the rotten for the owner of the tree; for what saith he in the following chapter, he saith that *he that maketh hast to be rich cannot be innocent*. And before that, he saith, *that the end of an inheritance hastily gotten, cannot be blessed*. Your Lordship hath heard of few or none great with Kings, that have not used their power to oppresse, that have not grown insolent and hatefull to the people; yea, insolent towards those Princes that advanced them.

C O U N S. Yet you see that Princes can change their fancies.

I u s T. Yea my Lord, when favorites change their faith, when they forget that how familiar soever Kings make

make themselves with their Vassals, yet they are Kings: *He that provoketh a King to anger (saith Solomon) sinneth against his own soul.* And he further saith, that *pride goeth before destruction, and a high mind before a fall.* I say therefore, that in discharging those Lucifers, how dear soever they have been, Kings make the world know that they have more of Iudgement then of passion, yea they thereby offer a satisfactory sacrifice to all their people, too great benefits of Subjects to their King, where the minde is blown up with their own deservings, and too great benefits of Kings conferr'd upon their Subjects, where the minde is not qualified with a great deal of modesty are equally dangerous. Of this later and insolenter, had King *Richard* the second delivered up to Iustice but three or four, he had still held the love of the people, and thereby his life and estate.

COUNS. Well, I pray you go on with your Parliaments,

IUST. The life of this great King *Edward* drawes to an end, so do the Parliaments of this time, where in 50 years raigne, he never received any affront, for in his 49th year he had a disme-

disme and a fifteen granted him free-
y.

COUNS. But Sir it is an old say-
ing, that all is well that ends well,
Judge you whether that in his 15th
year in Parliament at *Westminster* he
received not an affront, when the
house urged the King to remove and
discharge from his presence the
Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer*
his Chamberlaine, Sir *Richard Stur-*
ry, and others whom the King favou-
red and trusted. Nay, they pressed the
King to thrust a certain Lady out of
Court, which at that time bare the
greatest sway therein.

IUST. I will with patience answer
your Lordship to the full, and first
your Lordship may remember by that
which I even now said, that never
King had so many gifts as this King
had from his subjects, and it hath ne-
ver grieved the subjects of *England* to
give to their King, but when they
knew there was a devouring Lady,
that had her share in all things that
passed, and the Duke of *Lancaster* was
as scraping as shee, that the Chan-
cellour did eat up the people as fast as
either of them both. It greived the
subjects to feed these Cormorants,
But

But my Lord there are two things by which the Kings of *England* have been prest, (to wit) by their subjects, and by their own necessities. The Lords in former times were farre stronger, more warlike, better followed, living in their Countie, then now they are. Your Lordship may remember in your reading, that there were many Earls could bring into the field a thousand Barbed horses, many a Baron 5. or 600. Barbed horses, whereas now very few of them can furnish twenty fit to serve the King. But to say the truth my Lord, the Justices of peace in *England*, have oppos'd the unjusticers of war in *England*, the Kings writ runs over all, and the great Seal of *England*, with that of the next Constables will serve the turn to affront the greatest Lords in *England*, that shall move against the King. The force therefore by which our Kings in former times were troubled is vanished away. But the necessities remain. The people therefore in these later ages, are no lesse to be pleased then the Peeres; for as the later are become lesse, so by reason of the trayning through *England*, the Commons have all the weapons in their hand.

C O U N S.

COUNS. And was it not so ever?

IUST. No my good Lord; for the Noblemen had in their Armories, to furnish some of them a thousand, some two thousand, some three thousand men, whereas now there are not many that can arme fifty.

COUNS. Can you blame them? But I will only answer for my self, between you and me be it spoken; I hold it not safe to maintain so great an Armory or Stable, it might cause me, or any other Nobleman to be suspected, as the preparing of some Innovation.

IUST. Why so my Lord, rather to be commended as preparing against all danger of Innovation.

COUNS. It should be so, but call your observation to accompt, and you shall find it as I say, for (indeed) such a jealousie hath been held ever since the time of the Civil wars, over the Military greatness of our Nobles, as made them have little will to bepd their studies that wayes: wherefore let every man provide according as he is rated in the Muster Book, you understand me.

IUST. Very well my Lord, as what might be replied in the percei-
ving

ring so much; I have ever (to deal plainly and freely with your Lordship) more fear'd at home popular violence, then all the forreine that can be made, for it can never be in the power of any forraigne Prince without a Papisticall party, rather to disorder or endanger his Majesties Estate.

C O U N S. By this it seems, it is no lesse dangerous for a King to leave the power in the people, then in the Nobility.

J U S T. My good Lord, the wisdom of our own age, is the foolishnesse of another, the time present ought not to be preferr'd to the policy that was, but the policy that was to the time present; so that the power of the Nobility being now withered, and the power of the people in the flower, the care to content them would not be neglected, the way to win them often practized, or at least to defend them from oppression. The motive of all dangers that ever this Monarchy hath undergone, should be carefully heeded, for this Maxime hath no polsterne, *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*. And now my Lord, for King Edward, it is true, though he were not subject to
force

force, yet was he subject to necessity, which because it was violent, he gave way unto it, *Potestas* (saith *Pithagoras*) *juxta necessitatem habitat*. And it is true, that at the request of the house he discharged and put from him those before named, which done, he had the greatest gift (but one) that ever he received in all his dayes (to wit) from every person, man and woman, above the age of fourteen years 4d. of old mony; which made many Millions of Groats, worth 6l. of our mony. This he had in generall, besides he had of every beneficed Priest, 12d And of the Nobility and Gentry, I know not how much, for it is not set down. Now my good Lord, what lost the King by satisfying the desires of the Parliament house, for as soon as he had the money in purse, he recalled the Lords and restored them, and who durst call the King to accompt, when the Assembly were dissolved. *where the word of a King is, there is power* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *who shall say unto him, what doest thou!* saith the same Author, for every purpose there is a time and judgement, the King gave way to the time, and his judgement perswaded him to yeeld to necessity, *Consularius*

nemo

nemo melior est quam tempus.

COUNS. But yet you see the King was forc'd to yeeld to their demands.

JUST. Doth your Lordship remember the saying of *Monſier de Lange* that he that hath profit of the war, hath also the honour of the war, whether it be by battaile or retreat, the King you see hath the profit of the Parliament, and therefore the honour also, what other end had the King then to supply his wants. A wise man hath evermore respect unto his ends: and the King also knew that it was the love that the people bare him, that they urged the removing of those Lords, there was no man among them that sought himself in that desire, but they all sought the King, as by the successe it appeared. My good Lord, hath it not been ordinary in *England* and in *France* to yeeld to the demands of rebels, did not King *Richard* the second grant pardon to the outrageous rogues and murderers that followed *Iack Straw*, and *Wat Tyler*, after they had murdered his Chancellor, his Treasurer, Chief Justice, and others? brake open his Exchequer, and committed al

all manner of outrages and villanies, and why did he do it, but to avoid a greater danger : I say the Kings have then yielded to those that hated them and their estates, (to wit) to pernicious rebels. And yet without dishonour, shall it be called dishonour for the King to yeild to honest desires of his subjects? No my Lord, those that tell the King those tales, fear their own dishonour, and not the Kings; for the honour of the King is supreme, and being guarded by Justice and piety, it cannot receive neither wound nor stain.

COUNS. But Sir, what cause have any about our King to fear a Parliament?

JUST. The same cause that the Earle of *Suffolke* had in *Richard* the seconds time, and the Treasurer *Farham*. with others, for these great Officers being generally hated for abusing both the King and the Subject, at the request of the States were discharged, and others put in their roomes.

COUN And was not this dishonour to the King?

JUST. Certainly no, for King *Richard* knew that his Grandfather had done the like, and though the King

King was in his heart utterly against it, yet had he the profit of this exchange; for *Suffolke* was fined at 20000 markes, and 1000 l. lands.

COUNS. Well Sir, we will speak of those that fear the Parliament some other time, But I pray you go on with that, that happened in the troublesome raigne of *Richard* the second who succeeded, the Grandfather being dead.

IUST. That King, my good Lord, was one of the most unfortunate Princes that ever *England* had, he was cruelly, extreame prodigall, and wholly carried away with his two Minions, *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Ireland*, by whose ill advice and others, he was in danger to have lost his estate; which in the end (being led by men of the like temper) he miserably lost. But for his subsidies he had given him in his first year being under age two tenths, and two fiftenees: In which Parliament, *Alice Pierce*, who was removed in King *Edwards* time, with *Lancaster*, *Latimer*, and *Sturmy*, were confiscate and banished, in his second year at the Parliament at *Glocester*, the King had a marke upon every sack of *Wooll*, and 6d. the pound upon wards.

wards. In his third year at the Parliament at *Winchester*, the Commons were spared, and a subsidy given by the better sort, the Dukes gave 20 marks, and Earls 6 markes, Bishoppes and Abbots with myters six marks, every marke 3s. 4d. and every Knight, Justice, Esquire, Shrieve, Person, Vicar, & Chaplaine, paid proportionably according to their estates.

COUNS. This me thinks was no great matter,

JUST. It is true my Lord, but a little money went far in those dayes: I my self once moved it in Parliament in the time of *Queen Elizabeth*, who desired much to spare the Common people, & I did it by her Commandement; but when we cast up the subsidy Books, we found the summe but small, when the 300. men were left out. In the beginning of his fourth year, a tenth with a fifteen were granted upon condition, that for one whole year no subsidies should be demanded; but this promise was as suddenly forgotten as made, for in the end of that year, the great subsidy of Poll money was granted in the Parliament at *Northampton*.

COUNS. Yea but there followed the

the terrible Rebellion of *Bakyr*, *Straw* and others, *Leisler*, *Wrais*, and others.

Just. That was not the fault of the Parliament my Lord, it is manifest that the subsidy given was not the cause; for it is plain that the bondmen of *England* begun it, because they were grievously prest by their Lord, in their tenure of Villenage, as also for the hatred they bare to the Lawyers and Atturneyes: for the story of those times say, that they destroyed the houses and Mannors of men of Law, & such Lawyers as they caught, slew them, and beheaded the Lord chief Justice, which commotion being once begun, the head mony was by other rebels pretended: A fire is often kindled with a little straw, which oftentimes takes hold of greater timber, & consumes the whole building: And that this Rebellion was begun by the discontented slaves (whereof there have been many in Elder times the like) is manifest by the *Charter of Manumission*, which the King granted in *hæc verba*, *Ricb. Dei gratia &c. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra spirituali manumissimus, &c.* to which seeing the King was constrained by force of armes, he revoked the letters Patents;

and

and made them voide, the same revocation being strengthened by the Parliament ensuing, in which the King had given him a subsidy upon Wools, called a *Malecot*: In the same fourth year was the Lord Treasurer discharged of his Office, and *Hales* Lord of *St. Johns* chosen in his place: in his fifth year was the Treasurer again changed, and the staffe given to *Segrave*, and the Lord Chancellor was also changed, and the staffe given to the Lord *Scroope*: Which Lord *Scroope* was again in the beginning of his sixth year turned off, and the King after that he had for a while kept the Seal in his own hand, gave it to the Bishop of *London*, from whom it was soon after taken and bestowed on the Earle of *Suffolke*, who they say had abused the King, and converted the Kings Treasure to his own use. To this the King condescended. And though (saith *Walsingham*) he deserved to loose his life and goods, yet he had the favour to go at liberty upon good sureties, and because the King was but young & that the reliefe granted was committed to the trust of the Earle of *Arundell* for the furnishing of the Kings Navy against the *French*.

COUNS. Yet you see it was a dishonour to the King to have his beloved Chancellour remoyed.

JUST. Truly no, for the King had both his fine 1000l. lands and a subsidy to boot. And though for the present it pleased the King to fancy a man all the world hated (the Kings passion overcoming his judgement) yet it cannot be called a dishonour, for the King is to believe the generall counsell of the Kingdome, and to prefer it before his affection, especially when *Suffolke* was proved to be false even to the King; for were it otherwise, love and affection might be called a frenzie and a madnesse, for it is the nature of humane passions, that the love bred by fidelity, doth change it self into hatred, when the fidelity is first changed into falshood.

COUNS. But you see there were thirteen Lords chosen in the Parliament, to have the oversight of the government under the King.

JUST. No my Lord, it was to have the oversight of those Officers, which (saith the story) had imbezeled, lewdly wasted, and prodigally spent the Kings Treasure, for to the Commission to those Lords, or to any six
of

of them, joyn'd with the Kings Counsell, was one of the most royall and most profitable that ever he did, if he had been constant to himself. But my good Lord, man is the cause of his own misery, for I will repeat the substance of the Commission granted by the King, and confirmed by Parliament, which, whether it had bin profitable for the King to have prosecuted, your Lordship may judge. The preamble hath these words: *Whereas our Sovereigne Lord the King perceiveth by the grievous complaints of the Lords and Commones of this Realm, that the rents, profits, and revenues of this Realme, by the singular and insufficient Councell and evill government, aswell of some his late great Officers and others, &c. are so much withdrawn, wasted, given, granted, alienated, destroyed, and evill dispended, that he is so much impoverished and void of treasure and goods, and the substance of the Crown so much diminished and destroyed, that his estate may not honorably be sustained as appertainerth.* The King of his free will at the request of the Lords and Commones, hath ordained William Archbishop of Canterbury and others with his Chancellour, Treasurer, keeper of his privy seal, to survey

Survey and examine as well the estate and governance of his house, &c. as of all the rents, and profits, and revenues that to him appertaineth, and to be due, or ought to appertain and be due, &c. And all manner of gifts, grants, alienations and confirmations made by him of lands, tenements, rents, &c. bargained and sold to the prejudice of him and his Crown, &c. And of his jewels & goods which were his Grandfathers at the time of his death, &c. and where they be become.

This is in effect the substance of the commission, which your Lordship may reade at large in the book of Statutes, this commission being enacted in the tenth year of the Kings raigne. Now if such a commission were in these dayes granted to the faithfull men that have an interest in the sales, gifts nor purchases, nor in the keeping of the jewels at the Queens death, nor in the obtaining grants of the Kings best lands, I cannot say what may be recovered, and justly recovered; and what say your Lordship, was not this a noble act for the King, if it had been followed to effect?

COUNS. I cannot tell whether it were or no, for it gave power to the

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Commissioners to examine all the grants.

J u s T. Why my Lord, doth the King grant any thing, that shames at the examination? are not the Kings grants on record?

C o u n s. But by your leave, it is some dishonour to a King, to have his judgement called in question.

J u s T. That is true my Lord, but in this, or whensoever the like shall be granted in the future, the Kings judgement is not examined, but their knavery that abused the King. Nay by your favour, the contrary is true, that when a King will suffer himself to be eaten up by a company of petty fellows, by himself raised, therein both his judgement and courage is disputed. And if your Lordship will disdain it at your own servants hands, much more ought the great heart of a King to disdain it. And surely my Lord, it is a greater treason (though it undercreep the law) to tear from the Crown the ornaments thereof: And it is an infallible maxime, that he that loves not his Majesties estate, loves not his person.

C o u n s. How came it then, that the act was not executed?

J u s T.

I u s T. Because these , against whom it was granted , perswaded the King to the contrary : as the Duke of Ireland, Suffolk, the cheif Iustice Tresilian, and others ; yea, that which was lawfully done by the King , and the great Councell of the Kingdome, was (by the mastery which Ireland Suffolk, and Tresilian had over the Kings affections) broken and disavowed. Those that devised to relieve the King, not by any private invention, but by generall Councell , were by a private and partiall assembly adjudged traitors , and the most honest Iudges of the land, enforced to subscribe to that judgement. In so much that the Iudge Belknap plainly told the Duke of Ireland , and the Earl of Suffolk, when he was constrained to set his hand, plainly told these Lords, that he wanted but a rope, that he might therewith receive a reward for his subscription. And in this Councell of Nottingham was hatched the ruine of those which governed the King, of the Iudges by them constrained, of the Lords that loved the King, and sought a reformation, and of the King himself ; for though the King found by all the Shrieves of

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the shires, that the people would not fight against the Lords, whom they thought to be most faithfull unto the King, when the Citizens of London made the same answer, being at that time able to arme 50000. men, and told the Major that they would never fight against the Kings friends, and defenders of the Realme, when the Lord Ralph Basset, who was near the King, told the King boldly that he would not adventure to have his head broken for the Duke of Irelands pleasure, when the Lord of London told the Earle of Suffolk in the Kings presence, that he was not worthy to live, &c. yet would the King in the defence of the destroyers of his estate, lay ambushes to entrap the Lords, when they came upon his faith, yea when all was pacified, and that the King by his Proclamation had clear'd the Lords, and promised to produce Ireland, Suffolk, and the Archbishop of Yorke, Trisilian, and Bramber, to answer at the next Parliament, these men confest, that they durst not appear; and when Suffolk fled to Callice, and the Duke of Ireland to Chester, the King caused an army to be leavied in Lancashire, for the safe conduct of the

the Duke of Ireland to his presence, when as the Duke being encountered by the Lords, ranne like a coward from his company, and fled into *Holland*. After this was holden a Parliament, which was called that wrought wonders. In the Eleventh year of this King, wherein the forenamed Lords, the Duke of *Ireland* and the rest, were condemned and confiscate, the Chief Justice hanged with many others, the rest of the Iudges condemned, and banisht and a 10. and a 15. given to the King.

COUNS. But good Sir: the King was first besieged in the Tower of *London*, and the Lords came to the Parliament, and no man durst contradict them.

IUST. Certainly in raising an army, they committed treason, and though it appear, that they loved the King (for they did him no harm, having him in their power,) yet our law doth construe all leavying of war without the Kings commission, and all force raised to be intended for the death and destruction of the King, not attending the sequell. And it is so judged upon good reason, for every unlawfull and ill action is supposed

to be accompanied with an ill intent. And besides those Lords used too great cruelty, in procuring the sentence of death against divers of the Kings servants, who were bound to follow and obey their Master and Sovereigne Lord, in that he commanded.

COUNS. It is true, and they were also greatly to blame to cause then so many seconds to be put to death, seeing the principalls, *Ireland, Suffolk, and York* had escaped them. And what reason had they to seek to enform the State by strong hand, was not the Kings estate as dear to himself as to them? He that maketh a King know his errour mannerly and privately, and gives him the best advice, he is discharged before God and his own conscience. The Lords might have retired themselves, when they saw they could not prevail, and have left the King to his own wayes, who had more to lose then they had.

JUST. My Lord, the taking of Armes cannot be excused in respect of the law, but this might be said for the Lords, that the King being under yeares, and being wholly governed by
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their enemies, and the enemies of the kingdome, and because by those evil mens perswasions, it was advised, how the Lords should have been murdered at a feast in *London*, they were excusable during the kings minority to stand upon their guard against their particular enemies. But we will passe over & go on with our parliaments that followed, whereof that of Cambridge in the Kings 12th year was the next, therein the King had given him a 10th and a 15th after which being 20. yeares of age rechanged (saith *H. Knighton*) his Treasurer, his Chancellour, the Iustices of either bench, the Clerk of the privy seal and others, and took the government into his own hands. He also took the Admirals place from the Earle of Arundell, and in his room he placed the Earle of Huntingdon in the year following, which was the 13th year of the K. In the Parliament at Westminster there was given to the King upon every sack of Wooll 14 s. and 6^d in the pound upon other Merchandise.

COUNS. But by your leave, the King was restrained this parliament, that he might not dispose of, but a third part of the money gathered.

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Iust.

I u s t. No my Lord, by your favour. But true it is that part of this mony was by the Kings consent assigned towards the wars, but yet left in the Lord Treasurers hands, and my Lord it would be a great ease, and a great saving to his Majesty, our Lord and Master, if it pleased him to make his assignations upon some part of his revenewes, by which he might have 1000l. upon every 10000l. and save himself a great deale of clamour. For seeing of necessity the Navy must be maintained, and that those poor men as well Carpenters as ship-keepers must be paid, it were better for his Majesty to give an assignation to the Treasurer of his Navy for the receiving of so much as is called ordinary, then to discontent those poor men, who being made desperate beggars, may perchance be corrupted by them that lye in wait to destroy the Kings estate. And if his Majesty did the like in all other payments, especially where the necessity of such as are to receive, cannot possible give dayes, his Majesty might then in a little rowle behold his receipts and expences, he might quiet his heart when all necessities were provided for, and then

then dispose the rest at his pleasure. And my good Lord, how excellently and easily might this have been done, if the 40000l. had been raised as aforesaid upon the Kings lands, and wards I say that his Majesties House, his Navy, his guardes, his pensioners, his munition, his Ambassadors, and all else of ordinary charge might have been defrayed, and a great summe left for his Majesties casuall expences and rewards, I will not say they were not in love with the Kings estate, but I say they were unfortunately borne for the King that crost it.

COUNS. Well Sir, I would it had been otherwise, But for the assignments, there are among us that will not willingly indure it. Charity begins with it self, shall we hinder ourselves of 50000l. *per annum* to save the King 20? No Sir, what will become of our New years gifts, our presents and gratuities? We can now say to those that have warrants for money, that there is not a penny in the Exchequer, but the King gives it away unto the Scots faster then it comes in.

IUST. My Lord you say well, at least you say the trueth, that such are

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some of our answers, and hence comes that generall murmure to all men that have mony to receive, I say that there is not a penny given to that nation; be it for service or otherwise but is spread over all the kingdome : yea they gather notes, and take copies of all the privy seals and warrants that his Majesty hath given for the money for the Scots, that they may shew them in Parliament. But of his Majesties gifts to the English, there is no bruit though they may be tenne times as much as the Scots. And yet my good Lord, howsoever they be thus answered that to them that sue for money out of the Exchequer, it is due to them for 10. or 12. or 20. in the hundred, abated according to their qualities that sue, they are alwaies furnished. For conclusion, if it would please God to put into the Kings heart to make their assignations, it would save him many a pound, and gain him many a prayer, and a great deal of love, for it grieveth every honest mans heart to see the abundance which even the petty officers of the Exchequer, and others gather both from the King and subjects, and to see a world of poore men

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runne after the King for their ordinary wages.

COUNS. Well, well, did you never hear this old tale, that when there was a great contention about the weather, the Seamen complaining of contrary windes, when those of the high Countreyes desired rain, and those of the valleys sunshining dayes, *Jupiter* sent them word by *Mercury*, then, when they had all done, the weather should be as it had been. And it shall ever fall out so with them that complain, the course of payments shall be as they have been. what care we what petty fellowes say? or what care we for your papers? have we not the Kings eares, who dares contest with us? though we cannot be revenged on such as you are for telling the truth, yet upon some other pretence, wee'le clap you up, and you shall sue to us ere you get out. Nay wee'le make you confesse that you were deceived in your projects, and eat your own words: I learn this of me Sir, that as a little good fortune is better then a great deal of virtue: so the least authority hath advantage over the greatest wit, was he not the wisest man that said the battell

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was not the strongest, nor yet bread for the wise, nor riches to men of understanding. nor favour to men of knowledg: but what time and chance came to them all.

I u s r. It is well for your Lordship that it is so. But Qu. *Elizabeth* would set the reason of a mean man, before the authority of the greatest. Councillor she had, and by her patience therein she raised upon the usuall and ordinary customes of London without any new imposition above 50000l. a year, for though the Treasurer *Burleigh*, and the Earle of *Leicester* and Secretary *Walshingham*, all three pensioners to Customier *Smith*, did set themselves against a poor waiter of the Custome-house called *Carmarden*, and commanded the groomes of the privy Chamber not to give him access, yet the Queen sent for him, and gave him countenance against them all. It would not serve the turn, my Lord, with her; when your Lordships would tell her, that the disgracing her great officers by hearing the complaints of busie heads, was a dishonour to her self, but she had alwayes this answer, *That if any men complain unjustly against a Magistrate, it were reason he should be severely punished, if just-*

ly, shee was *Queen of the small*, as well as of the great, and would hear their complaints. For my good Lord, a Prince that suffereth himself to be besieged, forsakerh one of the greatest regalities belonging to a Monarchie, to wit the last appeal, or as the French call it, *le dernier resort*.

COUNS. Well Sir, this from the matter I pray you go on.

IUST. Then my Lord, in the Kings 15. year he had a tenth and a fifteen graunted in Parliament of London. And that same year there was a great Councell called at Stamford, to which diverse men were sent for, of diverse counties besides the Nobilitie, of which the King took advice whether he should cortinue the war, or make a finall end with the French.

COUNS. What needed the King to take the advice of any but of his own Councell in matter of peace or warre.

IUST. Yea my Lord, for it is said in the Proverbs, *where is many counsellors, there is health*. And if the King had made the warre by a generall consent, the Kingdome in generall were bound to maintain the warre, and

and they could not then say when the King required aid, that he undertook a needlesse warre.

COUNS. You say well, but I pray you go on.

JUSTR. After the subsidy in the 15. year, the King desired to borrow 10000l. of the Londoners, which they refused to lend.

COUNS. And was not the King greatly troubled therewith.

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JUSTR. Yea, but the King troubled the Londoners soon after, for the King took the advantage of a ryot made upon the Bishop of Salisbury his men, sent for the Major, and other the ablest citizens, committed the Major to prison in the Castle of windsor, and others to other castles, and made a Lord Warden of this citie, till in the end what with 10000l. ready money, and other rich presents, instead of lending 10000l. it cost them 20000l. Between the fifteenth yeare and twentieth yeare, he had two aides given him in the Parliaments of Winchester and Westminster: and this later was given to furnish the Kings journey into Ireland, to establish that estate which was greatly shaken since the death of
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the Kings Grandfather, who received thence yearly 30000l. and during the Kings stay in Ireland he had a 10th and 5th granted.

C O U N S. And good reason, for the King had in his army 4000. horse and 30000. foot.

J u s T. That by your favour, was the Kings safety: for great armies do rather devour themselves then destroy enemies. Such an army, (whereof the fourth part would have conquered all Ireland) was in respect of Ireland such an army as Xerxes led into Greece. In this twentieth yeare, wherein he had a tenth of the Clergy, was the great conspiracy of the Kings uncle the Duke of Glocester, and of Moubrey, Arundell, Nottingham, and Warwick, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot of Westminster, and others, who in the one and twentieth yeare of the King were all redeemed by Parliament, and what thinks your Lordship, was not this assemblie of the 3. states for the kings estate, wherein he so prevailed, that he not onely overthrew those popular Lords, but besides (the English Chronicle saith) the king so wrought and brought things about, that he obtained the

the power of both houses to be granted to certain persons, to 15. Noblemen and Gentlemen, or to seven of them.

COUNS. Sir, whether the King wrought well or ill I cannot judge, but our Chronicles say, that many things were done in this Parliament, to the displeasure of no small number of people, to wit, for that diverse rightfull heires were disinherited of their lands and livings, with which wrongfull doings the people were much offended, so that the King with those that were about him, and chief in Counsell, came into great infamy & slander.

JU.S.T. My good Lord, if your Lordship will pardon mee, I am of opinion that those Parliaments wherein the Kings of this land have satisfied the people, as they have been ever prosperous, so where the King hath restrained the house, the contrary hath happened, for the Kings achievements in the Parliament, were the ready preparations to his ruine.

CO.V. You mean by the generall discontentment that followed, and because the King did not proceed legally with Gloucester and others. Why
Sir,

Sir, this was not the first time that the Kings of England have done things without the Counsell of the land: yea, contrary to the law.

J u s t. It is true my Lord in some particulars, as even at this time the Duke of Glocester was made away at Callice by strong hand, without any lawfull triall: for he was a man so beloved of the people and so allied, having the Dukes of Lancaster, and York his bretheren, the Duke of Armarle, and the Duke of Hereford his Nephewes, the great Earles of Arundell and Warwicke, with diverse others of his part in the conspiracy, as the King durst not trie him according to the law: for at the triall of Arundell and Warwicke, the King was forced to entertaine a pretty army about him. And though the Duke was greatly lamented, yet it cannot be denied but that he was then a traytor to the King. And was it not so my Lord with the Duke of Guise: your Lordship doth remember the spur-gald proverb, *that necessitie hath no law*: and my good Lord, it is the practice of doing wrong, and of generall wrong done, that brings danger, and not where Kings are prest in this or that.

that particular, for there is great difference between naturall cruelty and accidentall. And therefore it was *Machiavels* advice, that *all that a King did in that kind, he shall do at once, and by his mercie afterwards make the world know that his cruelty was not affected.* And my Lord take this for a generall rule, that the immortall policy of a state cannot admit any law or privilege whatsoever, but in some particular or other, the same is necessarily broken, yea in an *Aristocratie* or popular estate, which vaunts so much of equality and common right, more outrage hath been committed then in any Christian Monarchy.

COUNS. But whence came this hatred between the Duke and the King his Nephew.

JUST. My Lord, the Dukes constraining the King, when he was young, stuck in the Kings hear, and now the Dukes proud speech to the King when he had rendred *Brest* formerly engaged to the Duke of Brittain, kindled again these coales that were not altogether extinguished, for he used these words: *Your grace ought to put your body in great pain to winne a strong hold or town by feats of armes, ere you take*

take upon you to sell or deliver any town gotten by the manhood & strong hand & policy of your noble progenitors. Whereat, saith the story, the King changed his countenance, &c. and to say truth, it was a proud and masterly speech of the Duke; besides that inclusively he taxed him of sloath and cowardise, as if he had never put himself to the adventure of winning such a place: undutifull words of a subject do often take deeper roote then the memory of ill deeds do: the Duke of Biron found it when the King had him at advantage. Yea the late Earle of Essex told Queen *Elizabeth* that her conditions was as crooked as her carkasse; but it cost him his head, which his insurrection had not cost him, but for that speech, *who will say unto a King (saith Iob) thou art wicked.* Certainly it is the same thing to say unto a Lady, thou art crooked (and perchance more) as to say unto a King that he is wicked, and to say that he is a coward, or to use any other words of disgrace, it is one and the same error.

COUNS. But what say you for Arundell, a brave and valiant man, who had the

the Kings pardon of his contempt during his minority.

I u s r. My good Lord, the Parliament which you say disputes the Kings prerogative, did quite contrary, and destroyed the Kings charter and pardon formerly given to Arundell. And my good Lord, do you remember, that at the Parliament that wrought wonders, when these Lords compounded that Parliament, as the King did this, they were so mercilesse towards all, that they thought their enemies, as the Earl of Arundell most insolently suffered the Qu. to kneel unto him three houres for the saving of one of her servants, and that scorn of his *manebat alto mente repositum*. And to say the truth, it is more barbarous & unpardonable then any act that ever he did to permit the wife of his Sovereign to kneel to him being the Kings vassel. For if he had saved the Lords servant freely at her first request, it is like enough that the Qu: would also have saved him, *Miseris succurrens paria obtinebis aliquando*: For your Lordship sees that the Earle of Warwicke who was as farre in the treason as any of the rest, was pardoned. It was also at this Parlia-

liament that the Duke of Hereford accused *Moubray* Duke of Norfolke, and that the Duke of Hereford Sonne to the Duke of Lancaster, was banished to the Kings confusion, as your Lordship well knows.

COUNS. I know it well, and God knows that the King had then a silly and weak Councell about him, that perswaded him to banish a Prince of the bloud, a most valiant man, and the best beloved of the people, in generall of any man living, especially considering that the King gave every day more then other offence to his subjects. For besides that he fined the inhabitants that assisted the Lords in his Minority (of the 17. shires) which offence he had long before pardoned, his blank Charters, and letting the Realme to farme to mean persons, by whom he was wholly advised, increased the peoples hatred toward the present government.

IUS R. You say well my L. Princes of an ill destiny do alwayes follow the worst counsell, or at least imbrace the best after opportunity is lost, *Qui consilia non ex suo corde sed alienis viribus colligunt, non animo sed auribus cogitant.* And this was not the least grief of the
subject

subject in generall, that those men had the greatest part of the spoil of the commonwealth, which neither by virtue, valour or counsell could adde any thing unto it. *Nihil est sordidius, nihil crudelius* (saith ~~unto~~ : Pius) *quasi Remp. ii arrodunt, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferunt.*

COUNS. Indeed the letting to farm the Realm was very grievous to the subject.

JUST. Will your Lorship pardon me if I tell you that the letting to farm of his Majesties Customes (the greatest revenue of the Realm) is not very pleasing.

COUNS. And why I pray you, doth not the King thereby raise his profits every third year, & one farmer outbids another to the Kings advantage.

JUST. It is true my Lord, but it grieves the subject to pay custome to the subject, for what mighty men are those Farmers become, and if those Farmers get many thousands every year, as the world knows they do, why should they not now (being men of infinite wealth) declare unto the King upon oath, what they have gained, and henceforth become the Kings collectours of his Custome, did not
Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* who was reputed both
a wise and just Princeſſe, after ſhe had
brought *Customer Smith* from 14000l. a
year to 42000l. a year, made him
lay down a recompence for that which
he had gotten? and if theſe Farmers
do give no recompence, let them yet
preſent the King with the truth of
their receivings and profits. But my
Lord for concluſion, after *Bullingbrook*
arriving in *England* with a ſmall troop:
Notwithſtanding the King at his
Landing out of *Ireland*, had a ſuffici-
ent and willing army: yet he wanting
courage to defend his right gave leave
to all his Souldiers to depart, and put
himſelf into his hands that caſt him in-
to his grave.

COUNS. Yet you ſee he was de-
poſ'd by Parliament.

JUſT. Aswell may your Lord-
ſhip ſay he was knock't in the head
by Parliament, for your Lordſhip
knows that if King *Richard* had e-
ver eſcaped out of their fingers that
depoſed him, the next Parliament
would have made all the depoſers trai-
tours and Rebels, and that juſtly. In
which Parliament, or rather unlawfull
aſſembly, there appeared but one ho-
neſt man, to wit, the B. of *Carlile*, who
ſcorned

scorned his life, and estate, in respect of right and his allegiance, and defended the right of his Sovereigne Lord against the Kings elect and his partakers.

COUNS. Well I pray goe on with the Parliaments held in the time of his successor *Henry* the fourth.

IUST. This King had in his third year a subsidy, and in his fift a tenth of the Clergy without a Parliament; In his sixt year he had so great a subsidie, as the House required there might be no record thereof left to posterity, for the House gave him 20s. of every Knights Fee, and of every 20l. land, 20d. and 12d. the pound of goods.

COUNS. Yea in the end of this year, the Parliament prest the King to annex unto the Crown all temporall possessions belonging to Church men within the land, which at that time, was the third foot of all *England*. But the Bishops made friends, and in the end saved their estates.

IUST. By this you see, my Lord that *Cromwell* was not the first that thought on such a business. And if King *Henry* the 8. had reserved the Abbeyes, and other Church lands, which he had given

given at that time, the revenue of the Crown of *England* had exceeded the revenue of the Crown of *Spaine*, with both the *Indies*, whereas used as it was (a little enriched the Crown) served but to make a number of pettifoggers, and others gentlemen.

C O U N S. But what had the King instead of this great revenue.

I U S T. He had a 15th of the Commons and tenth, and a half of the Clergy, and withall, all pensions graunted by King *Edward*, and King *Richard* were made void. It was also moved that all Crown lands formerly given (at least given by King *Edw.* and King *Richard*) should be taken back.

C O U N S. What think you of that, Sir? would it not have been a dishonour to the King? and would not his Successors have done the like to those that the King had advanced?

I U S T. I cannot answer your Lordship, but by distinguishing, for where the Kings had given land for services, and had not been over-reached in his gifts, there it had been a dishonour to the King, to have made void the graunts of his predecessors, or his graunts, but all those graunts of the
Kings,

Kings, wherein they were deceived, the very custome and policy of *England* makes them void at this day.

COUNS. How mean you that, for his Majestie hath given a great deal of Land among us since he came into *England*, and would it stand with the K. honour to take it from us again.

JUR. Yea my Lord, very well with the Kings honour, if your Lordship, or any Lord else, have under the name of 100l. land a year, gotten 500l. land, and so after that rate.

COUNS. I will never believe that his Majesty will ever doe any such thing.

JUR. And I believe as your Lordship doth, but we spake e're-while of those that dissuaded the King from calling a Parliament: And your Lordship asked me the reason, why any man should dissuade it, or fear it, to which, this place gives me an opportunity to make your Lordship answer, for though his Majesty will of himself never question those grants, yet when the Commons shall make humble petition to the King in Parliament, that it will please his Majesty to assist them in his relief, with that which ought to be his own, which, if it will please his Majesty to yield unto, the

the house will most willingly furnish & supply the rest; with what grace can his Majesty deny that honest suit of theirs; the like having been done in many Kings times before: This proceeding my good Lord, may perchance prove all your phantasies of the Kings honour, false *English*.

COUN But this cannot concern many, and for my self, I am sure it concerns me little.

JUR. It is true my Lord, & there are not many that dissuade his Majesty from a Parliament.

CO. But they are great ones, a few of which will serve turn well enough.

JUR. But my Lord, be they never so great (as great as Gyants) yet if they dissuade the King from his ready and assured way of his subsistence, they must devise how the K. may be elsewhere supplied, for they otherwise runne into a dangerous fortune.

COUNS. Hold you contented Sir, the King needs no great dissuasion.

JUR. My Lord, learne of me, that there is none of you all, that can pierce the King. It is an essentiall property of a man truly wise, not to open all the boxes of his bosome, even to those that are near'st & dear'st unto

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him,

him, for when a man is discovered to the very bottome, he is after the lesse esteemed. I dare undertake, that when your Lordship hath served the King twice twelve years more, you will finde, that his Majesty hath reserved somewhat beyond all your capacities. His Majesty hath great reason to put off the Parliament, at his last refuge, and in the mean time, to make tryall of all your loves to serve him, for his Majesty hath had good experience, how well you can serve your selves: But when the King finds, that the building of your own fortunes and factions, hath been the diligent studies, and the service of his Majesty, but the exercises of your leasures: He may then perchance cast himself upon the generall love of his people: of which (I trust) he shall never be deceived, and leave as many of your Lordships as have pilfered from the Crown, to their examination.

C O U N S. Well Sir, I take no great pleasure in this dispute, go on I pray.

I u s T. In that Kings 15th year, he had also a subsidy, which is got by holding the house together from Easter,

ster to Christmas, and would not suffer them to depart. He had also a subsidy in his ninth year. In his eleventh year the commons did again presse the King to take all the temporalities of the Church men into his hands, which they proved sufficient to maintain 150. Earles, 1500. Knights, and 6400. Esquires, with a hundred hospitals, but not prevailing, they gave the King a subsidy.

As for the notorious Prince, *Henry the first*, I find, that he had given him in his second year 300000. markes, and after that two other subsidies, one in his fifth year, another in his ninth, without any disputes.

In the time of his successor *Henry the sixth*, there were not many subsidies. In his third year he had a subsidy of a Tunnage and poundage. And here (saith *John Stow*) began those payments, which we call customes; because the payment was continued, whereas before that time it was granted but for a year, two or three, according to the Kings occasions. He had also an ayde & gathering of money in his fourth year, and the like in his tenth year, and in his thirteenth year a 15th. He had also a fifteenth for

the conveying of the Queen out of *France* into *England*. In the twenty eight year of that King was the act of Resumption of all honours, townes, castles, Seignuries, villages, Manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, fees &c. But because the wages of the Kings servants, were by the strictness of the act also restrained, this act of Resumption was expounded in the Parliament at *Reading* the 31st year of the Kings reigne.

COUNS. I perceive that those acts of Resumption were ordinary in former times; for King *Stephen* resumed the lands, which in former times he had given to make friends during the Civill warrs. And *Henry* the second resumed all (without exception) which King *Stephen* had not resumed; for although King *Stephen* tooke back a great deal, yet he suffered his trustiest servants to enjoy his gift.

IUST. Yes my Lord, and in after times also; for this was not the last, nor shall be the last, I hope. And judge you my Lord, whether the Parliaments doe not only serve the King, whatsoever is said to the contrary; for as all King *Henry* the 6. gifts & graunts
were

were made void by the Duke of York when he was in possession of the Kingdome by Parliament. So in the time of *K.H.* when *K. Edw.* was beaten out again, the Parliament of *Westminster* made all his acts voyd, made him and all his followers traytors, and gave the King many of their heads and lands. The Parliaments of *England* do alwaies serve the King in possession. It served *Rich.* the second to condemne the popular Lords. It served *Bullinbrooke* to depose *Rich.* When *Edw.* the 4. had the Scepter. It made them all beggars that had followed *H.* the 6. And it did the like for *H.* when *Edw.* was driven out. The Parliaments are, as the friendship of this world is, which alwayes followeth prosperity. For King *Edw.* the 4. after that he was possessed of the Crown, had, in his 13. year a subsidy freely given him: and in the year following he took a benevolence through *England*, which arbitrary taking from the people, served that ambitious traytor the Duke of Bucks. After the Kings death was a plaucible argument to perswade the multitude, that they should not permit (saith Sir

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Thomas Moore) his line to raigne any longer upon them.

COUNS. Well Sir, what say you to the Parliament of *Richard* the third in his time?

JUS T. I find but one, and therein he made diverse good Laws. For King *Henry* the seventh in the beginning of his third year, he had by Parliament an ayde granted unto him, towards the relief of the Duke of *Brittain*, then assailed by the *French* King. And although the King did not enter into the warre, but by the advice of the three estates, who did willingly contribute: Yet those Northern men which loved *Richard* the third, raised rebellion under colour of the money imps'd, and murdered the Earle of *Northumberland* whom the King employed in that Collection. By which your Lordship sees, that it hath not been for taxes and impositions alone, that the ill disposed have taken Armes; but even for those payments which have been appointed by Parliament.

COUNS. And what became of these Rebels?

JUS T. They were fairely hang'd, & the mony levied notwithstanding.
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In the Kings first year he gathered a marvailous great masse of mony, by a benevolence, taking pattern by this kind of levie from *Edw. 4th*. But the King caused it first to be moved in Parliament, where it was allowed, because the poorer sort were therein spared. Yet it is true, that the King used some art, for in his Letters he declared that he would measure every mans affections by his gifts. In the thirteenth year he had also a subsidy, whereupon the Cornish men took Armes, as the Northen men of the Bishoprick had done in the third year of the King.

C O U N S. It is without Example, that ever the people have rebelled for any thing granted by Parliament, save in this Kings dayes.

J u's T. Your Lordship must consider, that he was not over much beloved, for he took many advantages upon the people and the Nobility both.

C O U N S. And I pray you what say they now of the new impositions lately laid by the Kings Majesty? do they say that they are justly or unjustly laid?

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Jus T. To impose upon all things brought into the Kindome is very ancient : which imposing when it hath been continued a certain time, is then called Customes, because the subjects are accustomed to pay it, and yet the great tax upon wine is still called Impost, because it was imposed after the ordinary rate of payment, had lasted many years. But we do now a dayes understand those things to be impositions, which are raised by the command of Princes, without the advice of the Common wealth, though (as I take it) much of that which is now called custome, was at the first imposed by Prerogative royall. Now whether it be time or consent that makes them just, I cannot define, were they just because new, and not justified yet by time, or unjust because they want a generall consent. Yet is this rule of *Aristotle* verified in respect of his Majestie : *Minus timent homines injustum pati à principe quem cultorem Dei putant.* - Yea my Lord, they are also the more willingly borne, because all the world knowes they are no new Invention of the Kings. And if those that advised his Majesty to impose them,

them, had raised his lands (as it was offered them) to 20000l. more then it was, and his wards to as much as aforesaid; they had done him farre more acceptable service. But they had their own ends in refusing the one, and accepting the other. If the land had been raised, they could not have selected the best of it for themselves: If the impositions had not been laid, some of them could not have their silks: others pieces in farme, which indeed grieved the subject ten times more then that which his Majestie enjoyeth. But certainly they made a great advantage that were the advisers; for if any tumult had followed, his Majesties ready way had been to have delivered them over to the people.

COUNS. But think you that the King would have delivered them, if any troubles had followed?

JUST. I know not my Lord, it was *Machiavels* counsell to *Cesar Borgia* to doe it, and King *H. the 8.* delivered up *Empson* and *Dudley*: yea the same King, when the great *Cardinall Woolsey*, who governed the
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King and all his Estate, had (by requiring the sixt part of every mans goods for the King) raised a rebellion, the King I say disavowed him absolutely; that had not the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk appeased the people, the Cardinall had fung no more Masse; for these are the words of our Story: The King then came to *Westminster* to the Cardinals Palace, and assembled there a great Councell, in which he protested, that *his minde was never to aske any thing of his commons which might found to the breach of his Lawes.* Wherefore he then willed them to know by whose meanes they were so strictly given forth. Now my Lord, how the Cardinall would have shifted himself, by saying, *I had the opinion of the Iudges,* had not the rebellion been appeased, I greatly doubt.

C o u n s. But good Sir, you blanch my question, and answer me by examples. I aske you whether or no in any such tumult, the people pretending against any one or two great Officers, the King should deliver them, or defend them?

F u s T. My good Lord, the people have not stayed for the Kings delivery,
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neither in *England*, nor in *France*; Your Lordship knows how the Chancellour, Treasurer, and Chief Iustice, with many others at severall times have been used by the Rebels: And the Marshals, Constables, and Treasurers in *France*, have been cut in pieces in *Charles* the sixt his time. Now to your Lordships question, I say that where any man shall give a King perillous advice, as may either cause a Rebellion, or draw the peoples love from the King, I say, that a King shall be advised to banish him: But if the King do absolutely command his servant to do any thing displeasing to the Common-wealth, and to his own perill, there is the King bound in honour to defend him. But my good Lord for conclusion, there is no man in *England* that will lay any invention either grievous or against law upon the Kings Majesty: and therefore your Lordships must share it amongst you.

COUNS. For my part, I had no hand in it, (I think) *Ingram* was he that propounded it to the Treasurer.

JUS T. Alas, my good Lord, every poor waiter in the Custome-house, or every promooter might have done it, there is no invention in these things.

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To lay impositions, and sell the Kings lands, are poor and common devices. It is true that *Ingram* and his fellows are odious men, and therefore his Majesty pleas'd the people greatly to put him from the Coffership. It is better for a Prince to use such a kind of men, then to countenance them; hangmen are necessary in a common wealth; yet in the Netherlands, none but a hangmans sonne will marry a hangmans daughter. Now my Lord, the last gathering which *Henry* the seventh made, was in the twentieth year, wherein he had another benevolence both of the Clergy and Laity, a part of which taken of the poorer sort, he ordained by his testament that it should be restored. And for King *Henry* the eight, although he was left in a most plentiful estate, yet he wonderfully prest his people with great payments; for in the beginning of his time it was infinite that he spent in Masking and Tilting, Banqueting, and other vanities, before he was entred into the most consuming expence of the most fond and fruitlesse warre that ever King undertook. In his fourth yeare he had one of the greatest subsidies that ever was.

was granted ; for besides two fifteens and two dismes , he used Davids Law of Capitation or head money, and had of every Duke ten marks , of every Earl five pounds , of every Lord four pounds , of every Knight four marks and every man rated at 8l. in goods, 4. marks, and so after the rate : yea every man that was valued but at 40l paid 12d , and every man and woman above 15. years. 4d. He had also in his sixt year divers subsidies granted him. In his fourteenth there was a tenth demanded of every mans goods, but it was moderated. In the Parliament following, the Clergie gave the King the half of their spirituall livings for one yeare , and of the Laity there was demanded 800000l , which could not be leavied in England , but it was a marvellous great gift that the King had given him at that time. In the Kings seventeenth yeare was the Rebellion before spoken of , wherein the King disavowed the Cardinall : In his seventeenth yeare he had a tenth and fifteenth given by Parliament , which were before that time paid to the Pope. And before that also, the moneys that the King borrowed

in his fifteenth yeare were forgiven him by Parliament in his seventeenth yeare. In his 35. yeare a subsidy was granted of 4d. the pound of every man worth in goods from 20s. to 5l, from 5l. to 10l. and upwards of every pound 2s. And all strangers, denizens and others doubled this summe, strangers not being inhabitants above 16. years 4d. a head. All that had Lands Fees, and Annuities, from 20. to 5. and so double as they did for goods: And the Clergy gave 6d. the pound. In the thirty seventh yeare, a Benevolence was taken not voluntary, but rated by Commissioners, which because one of the Aldermen refused to pay, he was sent for a souldier into Scotland. He had also another great subsidy of six shillings the pound of the Clergy, and two shillings eight pence of the goods of the Laity, and four shillings the pound upon Lands.

In the second yeare of *Edward* the sixt, the Parliament gave the King an aid of twelve pence the pound of goods of his Naturall subjects, and two shillings the pound of strangers, and this to continue for three yeares, and by the statute of the second and third of *Edward* the sixt, it may appear the

the same Parliament did also give a second aid, as followeth. (to wit) of every Ewe kept in severall pastures, 3d: of every weather kept as aforesaid 2d: of every sheep kept in the Common, 1d, ob. The House gave the King also 8d the pound of every woollen cloath made for the sale throughout *England* for three years. In the third and fourth of the King, by reason of the troublesome gathering of the pole money upon sheep, and the tax upon cloath, this act of subsidy was repeal'd, and other relief given the King, and in the seventh yeare he had a subsidy and two fifteens.

In the first yeare of *Queen Mary*, tunnage and pondage were granted: In the second yeare a subsidy was given to King *Philip*, and to the *Queen*, she had also a third subsidy in *Annis 4th & 5th*.

Elix. Reg. Now my Lord, for the Parliaments of the late *Queens* time, in which there was nothing new, neither head money, nor sheep money, nor escuage, nor any of these kinds of payments was required, but onely the ordinary subsidies, and those as easily graunted as demanded, I shall not need to trouble your Lordship with a-
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ny of them, neither can I inform your Lordship of all the passages and acts which have passed, for they are not extant, nor printed.

C O U N S. No, it were but time lost to speak of the latter, and by those that are already remembred, we may judge of the rest, for those of the greatest importance are publick. But I pray you deal freely with me, what you think would be done for his Majesty, If he should call a Parliament at this time, or what would be required at his Majesties hands?

J U S T. The first thing that would be required, would be the same that was required by the Commons in the thirteenth yeare of Hen. the eight (to wit) that if any man of the commons house should speak more largely, then of duty he ought to do, all such offences to be pardoned, and that to be of record.

C O U N S. So might every Companion speak of the King what they list.

J U S T. No my Lord, the reverence which a Vassall oweth to his Sovereigne, is alwaies intended for every speech, howsoever it must import the good of the King, and his estate, and so long it may be easily pardoned, otherwise

therwise not ; for in *Queen Elizabeths* time, who gave freedome of speech in all Parliaments, when *Wentworth* made those motions , that were but supposed dangerous to the Queens estate, he was imprisoned in the Tower, notwithstanding the priviledge of the house, and there died.

COUNS. What say you to the *Sicilian vespers* remembred in the last Parliament ?

IUST. I say, he repented him heartily that used that speech, and indeed besides that, it was seditious, this example held not : The *French* in *Sicily* usurped that Kingdome, they neither kept law nor faith ; they took a way the inheritance of the Inhabitants, they took from them their wives, and ravished their daughters, committing all other insolencies that could be imagined. The Kings Majesty is the Naturall Lord of *England*, his Vassals of *Scotland* obey the English laws, if they break them, they are punished without respect. Yea his Majesty put one of his Barons to a shamefull death, for being consenting onely to the death of a common Fencer : And which of these ever did or durst commit any outrage in *England*, but

but to say the truth, the opinion of packing the last, was the cause of the contention & disorder that happened.

COUNS. Why sir? do you not think it best to compound a Parliament of the Kings servants and others that shall in all obey the Kings desires?

J. u. s. r. Certainly no, for it hath never succeeded well, neither on the kings part, nor on the subjects, as by the Parliament before-remembred your Lordship may gather, for from such a composition do arise all jealousies, and all contentions. It was practized in elder times, to the great trouble of the kingdome, and to the losse and ruine of many. It was of later time used by King *Henry* the eight, but every way to his disadvantage. When the King leaves himself to his people, they assure themselves that they are trusted and beloved of their kings, and there was never any assembly so barbarous, as not to answer the love and trust of their King *Henry* the sixt when his estate was in effect utterly overthrown, and utterly impoverished at the humble request of his Treasurer made the same known to the House: Or otherwise, using the Treasurers own words. He humbly desired

fired the King to take his staffe, that he might save his wardship.

COUNS. But you know, they will presently be in hand with those impositions, which the King hath laid by his own Royall prerogative,

JUR. Perchance not my Lord; but rather with those impositions that have been by some of your Lordships laid upon the King which did not some of your Lordships fear more then you do the impositions laid upon the Subjects, you would never dissuade his Majesty from a parliament: For no man doubted, but that his Majesty was advised to lay those impositions by his Councell, and for particular things on which they were laid, the advice came from petty fellows (though now great ones) belonging to the Custome-House. Now my Lord, what prejudice hath his Majesty (his Revenue being kept up) if the impositions that were laid by the generall Councell of the Kingdome, which takes off all grudging and complaint.

COUNS. Yea Sir, but that which is done by the King, with the advices of his private or privy Councell, is done by the Kings absolute power.

JUR. And by whose power it is done

done in Parliament, but by the Kings absolute power? Mistake it not my Lord: The three Estates do but advise, as the privy Councell doth, which advice if the King embrace, it becomes the Kings own Act in the one, and the Kings Law in the other; for without the Kings acceptation, both the publick and private advices be but as empty Egg-shells: and what doth his Majesty lose if some of those things, which concerns the poorer sort to be made free again, and the Revenue kept up upon that which is superfluous? Is it a losse to the King to be beloved of the Commons? If it be revenue which the Kings seeks, is it not better to take it of those that laugh, then those that cry? Yea if all be content to pay upon moderation & change of the Species: Is it not more honourable and more safe for the King, that the Subject pay by perswasion, then to have them constrained? If they be contented to whip themselves for the King, were it not better to give them the Rod into their hands, then to commit them to the Executioner? Certainly it is farre more happy for a Sovereigne Prince, that a Subject open his purse willingly, then that the same be opened by violence.

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Besides, that when impositions are laid by Parliament, they are gathered by the authority of the Law, which (as aforesaid) rejecteth al complaints, and stoppeth every mutinous mouth: It shall ever be my prayer that the King embrace the Council of Honour and safety, and let other Princes imbrace that of force.

COUNS. But good Sir, it is his Prerogative which the King stands upon, & it is the Prerogative of the Kings, that the Parliaments do all diminish.

JUST. If your Lordship would pardon me, I would say then, that your Lordships objection against Parliaments is ridiculous. In former Parliaments three things have been supposed dishonour to the King. The first, that the Subjects have conditioned with the King, when the King hath needed them, to have the great Charter confirmed. The second that the Estates have made Treasurers for the necessary and profitable disbursing of those sums by them given, to the end, that the Kings, to whom they were given, should expend them for their own defence, & for the defence of the Common-wealth. The third that these have prest the King to discharge some great officers of the
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Crown, and to elect others. As touching the first my Lord, I would fain learn what disadvantage the Kings of this Land have had by confirming the great Charter, the breach of which have served onely men of your Lordships rank, to assist their own passions, and to punish and imprison at their own discretion the Kings poor Subjects; concerning their private hatred, with the colour of the Kings service. For the Kings Majestie takes no mans inheritance (as I have said before) nor any mans life, but by the Law of the Land, according to the Charter. Neither doth his Majesty imprison any man (matter of practice, which concerns the preservation of his estate excepted) but by the law of the land. And yet he useth his prerogative as all the Kings of *England* have ever used it. The supream reason causeth to practise many things without the advice of the law. As for insurrections and rebellions, it useth the marshall, and not the common law, without any breach of the Charter, the intent of the Charter considered truly. Neither hath any Subject made complaint, or been grieved, in that the Kings of this land, for their own safeties, and preservation
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of their estates, have used their Prerogatives, the great Engine, on which there is written *soli Deo*. And my good Lord, was not *Buckingham* in *England*, and *Byron* in *France* condemned, their Peers uncalled? And withall, was not *Byron* utterly (contrary to the customs and priviledges of the *French*) deriyed an advocate to assist his defence? for where lawes forecast cannot provide remedies for future dangers, Princes are forced to assist themselves by their *Prerogatives*. But that which hath been ever grievous, and the cause of many troubles, very dangerous, is, that your Lordships abusing the reasons of state, do punish and imprison the Kings Subjects at your pleasure. It is you my Lords, that when Subjects have sometimes need of the Kings prerogative, do then use the strength of the Law, and when they require the law, you afflict them with the prerogative, and tread the great Charter (which hath been confirmed by 16. Acts of Parliament) under your feet, as a torn parchment or waste paper?

COUNS. Good Sir, which of us do this sort break the great Charter? perchance you mean, that we have advised the King to lay the new impositions.

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JUST. No my Lord : there is nothing in the great Charter against impositions : and besides that, necessity doth perswade them. And if necessity do in somewhat excuse a private man *à fortiori*, it may then excuse a Prince. Again the Kings Majesty hath profit and increase of revenue by the impositions. But there are of your Lordships (contrary to the direct Letter of the Charter) that imprison the Kings Subjects and deny them the benefit of the Law, to the Kings disprofit. And what do you otherwise thereby (if the impositions be in any sort grievous) but *Renovare dolores* ? And withall digg out of the dust the long buried memory of the Subjects former intentions with their Kings.

COUNS. What mean you by that?

JUST. I will tell your Lordship when I dare, in the mean time it is enough for me, to put your Lordship in mind, that all the Estates in the World, in the offence of the people, have either had profit or necessity to perswade them to adventure it, of which, if neither be urgent, and yet the Subject exceedingly grieved, your Lordship may conjecture, that the House will be humble suitors for a redress. And if it be a Maxime in policy

to please the people, in all things indifferent, and never suffer them to be beaten, but for the Kings benefit (for there are no blows forgotten with the smart but these) then I say to make them Vassals to Vassal, is but to batter down those mastering buildings, erected by K. Henry the 7, & fortified by his Son, by which the people and Gentry of England were brought to depend upon the King alone. Yea my good Lord, our late dear Sovereign Q. Elizabeth kept them up, & to their advantage, as well repaired as ever Prince did; Defend me, & spend me, saith the Irish Churle.

COUNS. Then you think that this violent breach of the Charter will be the cause of seeking the conformation of it in the next Parliament, which otherwise could never have bin moved.

JUST. I know not my good Lord, perchance not, for if the House press the King to grant unto them all that is theirs by the Law, they cannot (in Justice) refuse the King all that is his by the Law. And where will be the issue of such a contention? I dare not divine, but sure I am that it will tend to the prejudice both of the King and Subject.

COUNS. If they dispute not their own liberties, why should they then

dispute the Kings liberties, which we call his Prerogative.

J U S T. Among so many and so divers Spirits, no man can foretell what may be pronounced, but howsoever, if the matter be not slightly handled on the Kings behalf, these disputes will soon dissolve, for the King hath so little need of his Prerogative, & so great advantage by the Laws, as the fear of impairing the one, to wit, the Prerogative, is so impossible, and the burthen of the other, to wit, the Law, so weighty, as but by a branch of the Kings Prerogative, namely, of his remission and pardon, the Subject is no way able to undergo it. This my Lord is no matter of flourish that I have said, but it is the truth, and unanswerable.

C O U N S. But to execute the Laws very severely, would be very grievous.

J U S T. Why my Lord, are the Laws grievous which our selves have required of our Kings? And are the Prerogatives also which our Kings have received to themselves also grievous? How can such a people then be well pleased? And if your Lordship confess that the Laws give too much, why does your Lordship urge the Prerogative that gives more? Nay I will be bold to say it, that except the Laws were

were better observed, the Prerogative of a Religious Prince hath manifold less perils then the Letter of the Law hath. Now my Lord, for the second and third, to wit, for the appointing of Treasurers, & removing of Councellors, our Kings have evermore laught them to scorn that have prest either of these, and after the Parliament dissolved, took the mony of the Treasurers of the Parliament, and recalled and restored the Officers discharged, or else they have been contented, that some such persons should be removed at the request of the whole Kingdom, which they themselves out of their Noble natures, would not seem willing to remove.

COUNS. Well Sir, Would you notwithstanding all these arguments advise his Majesty to call a Parliament?

JUST. It belongs to your Lordships who enjoy the Kings favour, and are chosen for your able wisdom to advise the K. It were a strange boldness in a poor and private person, to advise Kings, attended with so understanding a Councell. But be like your Lordships have conceived some other way, how mony may be gotten otherwise. If any trouble should happen,

your Lordship knows, that then there were nothing so dangerous for a K. as to be without mony: A Parliament cannot assemble in haste, but present dangers require hasty remedies. It will be no time then to discontent the subjects by using any unordinary ways.

COUNS. Well Sir, all this notwithstanding we dare not advise the King to call a Parliament, for if it should succeed ill, we that advise shou'd fall into the Kings disgrace. And if the King be driven into any extremity, we can say to the King that because we found it extremely unpleasing to his Majesty to heat of a Parliament, we thought it no good manners to make such a motion.

JUST. My Lord, to the first let me tell you, that there was never any just Prince that hath taken any advantage of the success of Councils, which have been founded on reason, To fear that, were to fear the loss of the bell, more then the loss of the steeple, and were also the way to beat all men from the studies of the Kings service. But for the second, where you say you can excuse your selves upon the Kings own protesting against a Parliament, the King upon better consideration may encourage that fineness of yours.

COUNS.

COUNS. How I pray you?

JUST. Even by declaring himself to be indifferent, by calling your Lordships together, and by delivering unto you that he hears how his loving subjects in generall are willing to supply him, if it please him to call a Parliament, for that was the common answer to all the Sheriffs in England, when the late benevolence was commanded. In which respect, and because you come short in all your projects, & because it is a thing most dangerous for a King to be without treasure, he requires such of you, as either mislike, or rather fear a Parliament, to set down your reasons in writing, which you either mislike, or feared it. And such as wish and desire it, to set down answers to your objections: And so shall the K. prevent the calling or not calling on his Majesty, as some of your great Councillers have done in many other things, shrinking up their shoulders, and saying, the K. will have it so.

COUNS. Well Sir, it grows late, & I will bid you farewell, only you shall take well with you this advice of mine, that in all that you have said against our greatest, those men in the end shall be your Judges in their own cause, you
that

that trouble your self with reformation, are like to be well rewarded, hereof you may assure your self, that we will never allow of any invention how profitable soever, unless it proceed, or seem to proceed from our selves.

JUST. If then my Lord, we may presume to say that Princes may be unhappy in any thing, certainly they are unhappy in nothing more then in suffering themselves to be so inclosed. Again, if we may believe *Pliny*, who tells us that 'tis an ill sign of prosperity in any Kingdom of state, where such as deserve well, find no other recompence then the contentment of their own consciences, a far worse sign is it where the justly accused shall take revenge of the just accuser. But my good Lord, there is this hope remaining, that seeing he hath been abused by them he trusted most, he will not for the future dishonour of his judgement (so well informed by his own experience) as to expose such of his vassals (as have had no other motives to serve him, then simply the love of his person and his estate) to their revenge, who have only been moved by the love of their own fortunes, and their glory.

COUNS. But good Sir, the King hath not been deceived by all. JUST.

J U S T. No my Lord, neither have all been trusted, neither doth the world accuse all, but believe, that there be among your Lordships very just and worthy men, as well of the Nobility as others, but those though most honoured in the Common-wealth, yet have not been most imployed: Your Lordship knows it well enough, that three or 4 of your Lordships have thought your hands strong enough to bear up alone the weightiest affairs in the Commonwealth, and strong enough, all the Land have found them to beat down whom they pleased.

C O U N S. I understand you, but how shall it appear that they have only sought themselves.

J U S T. There needs no perspective glass to discern it, for neither in the treaties of Peace and War, in matters of Revenue, and matters of Trade, nothing hath hapned either of love or of judgement, No my Lord, there is not any one action of theirs eminent, great or small, the greatness of themselves onely excepted.

C O. It is all one, your Papers can neither answer nor reply, we can. Besides, you tell the King no news in delivering these Complaints, for he knows as much as can be told him.

J U S T.

J U S T. For the first my Lord, whereas he hath once the reasons of things delivered him, your Lordships shall need to be well advised, in their answers there is no sophistry will serve the turn, where the Judge, & the understanding are both supreme. For the second, to say that his Majesty knows and cares not, that my Lord were but to despair all his faithful Subjects. But by your favour my Lord, we see it is contrary, we finde now that there is no such singular power as there hath been, Justice is described with a Balance in her Hand, holding it even, and it hangs as even now as ever it did in any Kings days, for singular authority begets but generall oppression.

C O U N S. Howsoever it be, that's nothing to you, that gave no interest in the Kings favour, nor perchance in his opinion, & concerning such a one, the misliking, or but misconceiving of any one hard word, phrase, or sentence, will give argument to the King either to condemn or reject the whole discourse. And howsoever his Majesty may neglect your informations, you may be sure that others (at whom you point will not neglect their revenges, you will therefore confess it (when it is too late) that you are exceeding sorry that

that you have not followed my advise. Remember Cardinal *Woolsey*, who lost all men for the Kings service, & when their malice (whom he grieved) had out-lived the Kings affection, you know what became of him as well as I.

JUST. Yea my Lord, I know it well, that malice hath a longer life, then either love or thankfulness hath, for as we always take more care to put off pain, than to enjoy pleasure, because the one hath no intermission, & with the other we are often satisfied, so it is in the smart of injury & the memory of good turns: *Wrongs are written in marble: Benefits are (sometimes) acknowledged, rarely requited.* But my Lo. we shall all do the K. great wrong, to judge him by common rules, or ordinary examples, for seeing his Majesty hath greatly enriched and advanced those that have but pretended his service, no man needs to doubt of his goodness towards those that shall perform any thing worthy reward. Nay, the not taking knowledge of those of his own vassals that have done him wrong, is more to be lamented, than, the relinquishing of those that do him right, is to be suspected, I am therefore, my good Lord held to my resolution by these 2, besides the former. The 1, that God would never have blest

him with so many years, and in so many actions, yea in all his actions had he paid his honest servants with evill for good. The 2d. where your Lordship tells me, that I will be sorry for not following your advice, I pray your Lordship to believe, that I am no way subject to the common sorrowing of worldly men, this *Maxime* of Plato being true, *Dolores omnes ex amore animi erga corpus nascuntur*. But for my body, my mind values it at nothing.

C O U N S. What is it then you hope for or seek.

J U S T. Neither riches, nor honour, or thanks, but I onely seek to satisfie his Majesty (which I would have been glad to have done in matters of more importance) that I have lived and will die an honest man.

F I N I S.

The Authors Epitaph, made by himself.

Even such is time, which takes in trust
Our Youth, and Joy's, and all we have,
And payes us but with age and dust,
Which in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandred all our wayes,
Shuts up the story of our dayes:
And from which Earth, & Grave & Dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

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